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## **Including citizens?**

**Participation of national members of European Civil Society  
Organizations**

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## **Abstract**

The outcome of the European Union's (EU) growing legitimacy crisis was building a closer relationship to its citizens. Civil society and thus Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) at European level are seen as the remedy for the EU to improve their image and create more effective policy making. Ideally, national members of CSOs feed into the political discussion at the European level through active participation within their organization. One might wonder what this engagement looks like practically. This study aims to analyze how national members of European CSOs participate and are deliberated. Within the framework of a case study one European CSO was chosen. Eight national members in Germany, Sweden and Denmark were investigated through a qualitative approach by conducting document analysis and interviews.

The findings of the study indicate that national members engaged in formal activities are more likely to participate in informal activities, which suggests that participation is unequally weighted. Having appropriate expertise about the field of the CSOs can lead to a higher chance of participation. National members commonly displayed a high level of passion for their subject of concern, which leads to deliberation and eventually participation. Being engaged on a voluntarily basis influences the possibility to participate to a great extent because of a lack of time and money.

**Key words:** Civil Society Organization (CSO), national members, participation, deliberation, European Union, resources

**Word count:** 23635

## List of Abbreviations

Aric	Antirassistisch-Interkulturelles Informationszentrum Berlin e.V.
BUG	Büro zur Umsetzung von Gleichbehandlung e.V.
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DRC	Dokumentations- og rådgivningscenteret om racediskrimination
EC	European Commission
ECI	European Citizen Initiative
EEA	European Economic Area
EIA	The English International Association of Lund
ENAR	European Network Against Racism
EP	European Parliament
EU	European Union
GA	General Assembly
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization
ISD	Initiative Schwarzer Menschen e.V.
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
SOS	SOS mod Racisme

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# 1. Introduction

“Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world”. This quote by the American anthropologist Margret Mead (1999) illustrates the importance of citizens in our society and shows, at the same time that citizens are capable of initiating change. The European Union (EU) developed a discourse that, in a way, is in line with Mead’s view, moving towards a greater engagement of citizens. One may ask why the EU is interested in engaging its citizens and what the motivation is behind this new discourse? The answer is both simple and complex at the same time. In a nutshell, since the early 1990s the EU has faced increased questioning of its democratic legitimacy. Consequently, the EU started taking actions. The reason for this so called “legitimacy crisis” (Kohler-Koch, 2012) is due to the policy-making within the EU, which is considered to be “distant and non-transparent” (p. 158, Kröger and Friedrich, 2013). In order to conquer this bad reputation, the discourse of the EU changed from a traditional representative democracy towards a closer relationship to its citizens (Kohler-Koch, 2009). In light of these developments, the civil society was deemed the “beacon of hope” (Kohler-Koch, 2012) for the EU to improve their image, but also to create more effective policy-making (Smismans, 2008). The Maastricht treaty was the first step towards strategies that would foster the inclusion of European civil society. It entered into force in 1993 and the essential goal was to strengthen the democratic legitimacy of institutions, while improving the effectiveness of institutions. Furthermore, with the treaty common foreign and security policies were to be established (European Union, 2010).

The general discourse of the EU to include citizens was also developed in the White Paper on European Governance, presented by the European Commission (EC) in 2001, which examines positively the contribution of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs). These organizations voice the concerns of citizens and transfer these voices into the political arena at the European level (Schutter, 2002). In detail, the White Paper points out the need to connect the EU with its citizens to have more effective and relevant policies. Moreover, it highlights the urgency to open up the policy-

making process to involve more people and organizations in influencing EU policy (European Commission, 2007). Also, the EC introduced the Treaty of Lisbon, “which was signed in Lisbon on 13 December 2007”, to complete the process of “enhancing the efficiency and democratic legitimacy of the Union” (Pichler and Balthasar, 2013, p. 17 and European Commission, 2009). Art. 47 of the Lisbon Treaty, now Art. 11 in the Treaty on European Union (TEU), is essential to advancing the EU’s relationship with its citizens. One key feature of the Lisbon Treaty is Art. 11 (4), which promotes a “European citizens’ initiative (ECI)”. The ECI is further developed in the “Green Paper on a European Citizens’ Initiative” (European Commission, 2009), which gives one million citizens within the EU, from at least seven members, the right to propose from the EC new EU legislation. Essentially, citizens can classify a problem and demand action (European Economic and Social Committee, 2012). In addition, and most importantly for this thesis, Art. 11(2) TEU stresses closer contact between citizens and the EU as well as the EU’s need to have an “...open, transparent and regular dialogue with representative associations and civil society” (European Economic and Social Committee, 2011). European citizens have the possibility to be actively involved in the EU’s domain through a number of associations that represent civil society (Stoica, 2012). The remedy to fill the legitimacy gap is to include the views of the citizens through association with CSOs. In practice, they are intended to actively influence European politics and thereby represent their national members and interests. Other than the ECI, a closer relationship with the citizens is also fostered by “The Citizens’ Agora”; this entails a link between the European Parliament and CSOs on the European level, as introduced by the White Paper on European Governance. Thus, European CSOs have the opportunity to debate subjects on the Parliament’s legislative agenda (European Parliament, 2011).

As illustrated in the paragraph above, citizens have the possibility to integrate themselves through CSOs in the EU; the question that arises is how, in particular, this kind of involvement in CSOs is manifested and how it is motivated. Even though CSOs “only” have a voice and not a vote, they influence the European decision-making process (Kohler-Koch, 2009) under the framework of Participatory Democracy. Participatory Democracy completes Representative Democracy with the

actions of civil society. The term “participation” stands for “being part of” and “taking part in”, and in that way Steffek and Hahn (2010) emphasize that participation is the only way for citizens to have influence and give legitimacy to the policy processes that affect them. Specifically, participation means a “direct involvement of ... citizens in the political process” (p. 105). CSOs are the bottom-up channel from the grass roots level to the Brussels decision-making arena, and therefore are in some way responsible for fostering the participation of the citizens from the national and local levels (Lindgren and Persson, 2011).

Ideally, national members of CSOs feed into the political discussion at the European level through an active participation within their organization. One might wonder what this engagement looks like practically, if members are included frequently or rather serve the ad hoc needs of the CSOs. Lindgren and Persson (2011) suggest that including CSOs in the social policy discourse through Participatory Democracy can only succeed if European CSOs accurately represent the views of their national members. All interests need to be *equally represented* in the European arena, all groups need *equal access* to relevant information, and finally, all interest groups need to have an *equal influence*. But is it possible to maintain such equality? Along those lines, Tomšič and Rek (2008) raise the question whether European CSOs are actually able to activate European citizens on social policy issues. According to Kohler-Koch (2010), the essential precondition is well-operating communication between the European CSOs and their national members, and that communication should take place on every level down until the individual members at the grass roots are reached. That argument raises the questions, of what does the communication between the CSOs and the national members look like and what kind of communication channels do they use?

Previous research on CSOs and their relationship to their members can be summarized in seven points (Steffek et al., 2010 and Tomšič and Rek, 2008). Firstly, empirical research that focuses on the reporting of national organizations on EU related proceedings shows that the level of information sharing to the national level is rather low. Secondly, Tomšič and Rek (2008) refer to current studies suggesting that European CSOs are not showing much interest in educating their national members

about current EU matters, and thirdly, instead, “get caught up within the ivory tower world of Brussels institutional politics” (p. 414).

Furthermore, Steffek et al. (2010) determined that too little work is done investigating the interaction of European CSOs and their national members. Instead, only the relationship to EU institutions, especially the EC, is studied. CSOs are seen as transmission belts as they link the national and European level and channel information. Fourthly, many members of European CSOs contribute to the policy progress and provide relevant input. The importance of input was stated during interviews with officials of European CSOs. Strategic input, for organizations' strategies, of the members was given most commonly as an answer. Strategic input refers to the contribution to the strategic decision-making process. Essentially, the fifth research finding highlights that members are much more integrated in long-term, strategic decision-making than in the day-to-day business that most of the time remains in the hands of the office staff. Besides the influence in the decision-making process, the empowerment of the members was investigated and the outcome is that many of the interviewed European CSOs have supplies for empowerment by, for example, granting them travel grants to conferences, the General Assembly and organizing round table discussions with EU officials. Sixthly, the tactical and day-to-day business seems restricted to communication with other Brussels-based peers and European CSOs themselves state dissatisfaction with limited feedback from national members as not all member organizations are interested in getting involved in the decision-making of the European CSOs. Lastly, Steffek et al. (2010) interpret that participation chains from the actual decision-making process to the individual member are too long; however, if European CSOs are managed properly, a high level of direct participation is possible. Therefore, European CSOs need to be in close contact with their national members, meaning the people affected by European policy making, and citizens' perspectives need to be valued. It is stated that the study could not follow through to the local level where individual members are acting, and Steffek et al. (2010) therefore suggest further research to bridge the gap that exists below the national level to address individual members directly, while also taking into account the formal and informal channels.

Generally, European CSOs influence the political agenda by following and monitoring policy developments, campaigning and lobbying, as well as having meetings with key EU officials and political representatives (ENAR, 2013). However, it remains unclear what the political participation of European CSOs consists of. How does participation look like and in what steps of the political decision-making process do CSOs intervene and contribute (Council of Europe, 2009)? In a bigger scope, this question might play a role when examining the political participation of CSOs and the involvement of their national members in the political decision-making process. Due to time and space limitations, this thesis will only focus on one part of this issue, namely the involvement of national members. In theory, the members of European CSOs should feed into the political process of the EU. Practically, it is unsure what the participation of the members of CSOs looks like. The research findings offered by Kohler-Koch (2010), Tomšič and Rek (2008) and Steffek et al. (2010) focus on the perception of European CSOs themselves through collected empirical data from officials based in Brussels. It is highlighted that the perception of the national members of European CSOs, including the perception of the individual members on the very end of the common chain at the grass roots level, are not included in the investigations of the interaction of European CSOs and their national members.

With respect to those findings, the central aim of this thesis is to analyze how CSOs, acting at different levels, can function as transmission belts in a European political sphere with a focus on how national members participate and are deliberated. Furthermore, the thesis aims to identify to what degree national members are involved in formal and informal decision-making in CSOs.

*To what degree are national members experiencing equal and maximum participation?*

*To what extent are the activities national members are experiencing living up to a deliberative standard?*

*How are CSOs empowering their national members in order for them to act within a political arena and voice their concerns? How does it influence the participation of national members?*

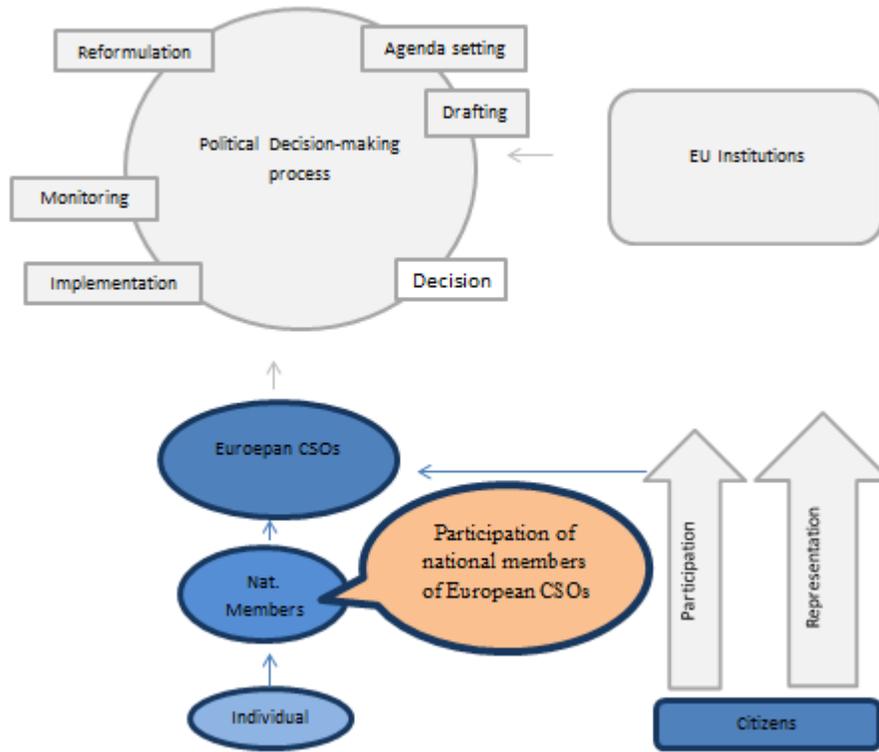
*What kind of barriers can be identified for national members participating in European CSOs? What forms of barriers exist?*

When analyzing the data, similarities and differences among national members will be compared. Also, it will be further examined if the participation of the national member's lives up to the theoretical goals set by the EC when highlighting the inclusion of citizens and also by the goals set by the CSOs themselves. The possible gap that exists between the theoretical goals and the practical manifestation will be discussed. Besides this kind of descriptive approach one can also refer to a more prescriptive or normative theoretical one. Such a theoretical tendency focuses more on suggestions of how things should be or what can be done about conditions recognized by the descriptive theory (Hodge, Anthony and Gales, 2003). When examining the relationship of CSOs and its national members, data will be analyzed through a descriptive approach, yet the thesis is also taking a normative perspective into account to address some suggestions for improvement or considerations as to how participation of national members can be increased.

In order to investigate the members' point of view and to what extent they bring in their experience and concerns into political discussions and decision-making processes, their participation will be analyzed. Essentially, the empirical reality of participation within CSOs at the European level will be investigated.

In a larger perspective, this issue also leads to the question of how effective the model of Participatory Democracy is. European CSOs are seen as the "agents of Participatory Democracy" (Friedrich, 2007/08) and therefore investigating the above mentioned research questions contributes to determining if the Democratic model of the EU is serving the citizens. The concept of the research aim is illustrated in figure 1.

Figure 1: Conceptual Framework.



Source: Author's design, information about the political decision-making process (Council of Europe, 2009).

Figure 1 displays a greater scope of the political decision-making process of the EU to understand the holistic process the research aim is placed in. The figures to the right and on the top illustrate the influence of the citizens through representation, meaning electing representatives and through participation with the help of European CSOs illustrated on the left. European CSOs are part of the participation model and can influence the political decision-making process at different steps, beginning by the agenda setting and ending by the reformulation or so called amendments.

The figures on the left bottom with thicker lines represent the realm of the specific research aim; this is where the national members of the European CSOs are in a position to indirectly participate in political decision-making through their membership

in a CSO. Analyzing the participation of the national members in that context is the aim of this study. Examining the participation of national members is important to determine if the concept of participatory democracy results in active participation of the citizens of Europe, while understanding how this is played out in practice.

## **2. Background**

The following chapter illustrates the development of civil society in Europe followed by an understanding of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs). Finally, participation is explored in relation to CSOs.

### **2.1 Civil society in the EU**

In brief, citizens and civil society are a central component to the foundation of this thesis. Therefore, the following section examines the chronological development of the general discussion of civil society and displays its definition in today's western society.

Civil society is an institutional form that is distinguished from the state. The early development of civil society is traced back to Greek philosophy when Aristotle referred to the political community as a "rule-governed society" (Kaldor, 2003, p. 6). Later, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the focus was more on individual rights (Kaldor, 2003). By that time, civil society and the state were not differentiated; it was the German philosopher Hegel (1996) who separated civil society and the state. Currently, the concept is associated with social interaction that is independent from the state and the market. The German philosopher Habermas (Cited in Ehrenberg, 1999) views civil society as an institutional form that encompasses non-governmental and non-economic yet voluntary structures that embed communication constructions for the public sphere. Habermas highlights that, "the core of civil society comprises a network of associations that institutionalize problem-solving discourse of general interest inside the framework of organized public spheres" (Quoted in Kaldor, 2003, p. 9). It is stated that civil society today is, "transnational, engaged in a process of

debate and negotiation with governments, companies and international organizations” (Kaldor, 2003, p. 11).

The role of civil society in the European Union is examined by Liebert (2009). She understands civil society as organized groups with members that act deliberatively to achieve a common aim. Kohler-Koch (2010) introduces two concepts of civil society; the first concept explains civil society as “social interaction” (p. 1120) and understands it as the constitutional link to the European policy arena. The second concept links civil society to organized civil society that represents the interest of its constituents or a common purpose. This thesis will use organized civil society that appears in the form of CSOs and is linked to the European policy arena and will be further explained in the following section.

### **2.1.2 Civil Society Organizations in the EU**

CSOs are described as a “connective tissue” by Steffek and Ferreti (2009, p. 40) that link citizens and international policy making institutions; thereby it endows input and accountability to and from the citizens. The definition of Clerck-Sachsse (2012) identifies CSOs as organizations that work voluntarily and aims and purposes towards a common goal. Moreover, CSOs are providing public goods, while, at the same time, are stimulating political pluralism. It is through CSOs that concerns are highlighted where governments usually marginalize (Steffek and Hahn, 2010). A further significant role of CSOs is the provision of information that contributes to policy deliberation through connections to the marginalized sectors of the EU population (Ruzza and Bozzini, 2008). In contrast, Kohler-Koch (2010) indicates a more skeptical view where CSOs only claim to be a bottom-up channel from the grass roots to the European policy area. This argument will be examined further in the coming sections.

CSOs can be classified as society actors; different types of society actors are identified as social movements, Non-Governmental Organizations, Social Organizations and Nationalist and religious groups. For the purpose of this thesis, Non-Governmental Organizations will be the central focus and referred to as CSOs (Kaldor, 2003). Ruzza and Bozzini (2008) outline ‘four different routes’ for CSOs to

clarify the different levels and channels of engagement. The first one is described as the traditional route, and refers to local and national organizations in different member states. EU institutions are not directly addressed and EU policy making is not of interest for these organizations. The second route is a national one that refers to organizations that participate at the local and national level to have an impact on EU policy. The third route is defined as the European route up and refers to participation at EU level aiming to influence EU policy. This European route up is directly referring to Brussels based organizations. Finally, the fourth route is described as the European route down and describes the participation in Brussels based activities aiming towards influencing national policy making processes. Organizations that follow the national route, also named grass roots organizations, and are related to organizations based in Brussels will be regarded as national members. Brussels based organization will be referred to as European CSOs.

## **2.2 The participatory turn in EU policy making**

Today's democracy is realized through electoral rights with a new participatory shape. According to Stoica (2012), within our society democracy is a "fundamental standard of political legitimacy" and in general it can be seen as "governance of the people" (p. 812). Representative Democracy is hereby converted through election, where the European citizens elect representatives. This almost classical definition of democracy is challenged by the characterization of, "governing by the people and for the people" (p. 812) where Stoica (2012) is putting the emphasis on the people themselves and introduces thereby two models of democracy: majority and consensual. When referring to majority, citizens are acting in their own interest; it is here where governing is done by the plurality in favour of its will. The consensual democracy however, applies agreement decision-making. It is highlighted that only the citizens itself are in the position to make a political system democratic. Trenz (2009) sees participatory governance (p. 37) as a form of a private contract between "government, voluntary associations and its members" (p. 37). He emphasizes the existing inequality of memberships in CSOs versus the upright egalitarianism among citizens. He summarizes that participation is the domain of civil society, while

representation is the domain of national governments and the European Parliament (EP). Beyond that conclusion Trezn (2009) stresses that the representation-participation division is also a variant of social control. The participation of civil society is distinct from the subjects of representation; therefore, it is easier for the EU institutions to place civil society interest groups away from the domain of the representative government to finally be able to retain sovereignty as well as regulation of those groups. Along those lines, Eriksen and Fossum (2000) highlight the importance of the “right of the individual” (p. 50) and on protecting the rights of the citizen when touching upon democratic legitimacy. They explain that the EU’s relation to democracy by stating that democratic quality is evaluated by the outcomes that the EU produces. The democratic legitimacy crisis of the EU is according to Eriksen and Fossum (2000), often linked to weak popular legitimacy. This argument is underpinned by the fact that civil rights are weaker at the EU level than at the national level. It is concluded that formal and informal institutions are needed in the decision-making process to ensure full democratic legitimacy; the question becomes whether or not formal and informal institutions should be equally involved or if there is domination.

Within the EU, Schutter (2002) explains, Representative Democracy is based on input legitimacy, the will of the people translated into political decisions (Powell, 2000), where Europe’s citizens vote on national and European elections to elect representatives for the Council and the EP. Eriksen and Fossum (2000) argue that such a “majority vote” (p. 17) only mirrors the view of the majority that voted at that specific time. Consequently, elections only reflect the will of the majority and not the “common will” (p.17) as only the preferences of the winners will be transformed in the European political arena. Therefore, and also in relation to the EU’s democratic legitimacy crisis, “non-majoritarian” (p. 17) sources have to feed into EU policy making so that it can be claimed legitimate. That requirement is underpinned by the argument that “people are both the author(s) and the subject of laws ... “(p. 21). This allows citizens to participate in the political system by giving them the possibility to, “initiate, influence and object to proposals” (p. 21).

One way that Participatory Democracy completes Representative Democracy is through the actions of civil society. Lindgren and Persson (2011) underline the dependence of the EU's democratic legitimacy on these two corresponding principles: Representative Democracy and Participatory Democracy. The goal is to add value to the policy-making process instead of challenging the legitimacy of the elected representatives. In other words, Participatory Democracy is positioned to enrich democracy instead of contributing to a malfunctioning democratic process. Furthermore, Borragán (2007) points out that, "the principle of Participatory Democracy is a keystone of European integration" (p. 275). Trenz (2009) views participation and civil society as the contrary of representation since they mobilize the voice of the citizens from the bottom. Kohler-Koch (2012) states that the democratic quality of European CSOs varies and, at the same time, is questioning: "whether the internal organizations of the associations live up to democratic standards" (p. 814).

### **3. Theory**

The following chapter offers first, an introduction to Participatory as well as Deliberation Theory and Empowerment. Secondly, the analytical framework is presented and participation dimensions of European CSOs are described.

#### **3.1 Participation Theory of democracy**

Several scholars have illuminated participatory theory, but Rousseau (1986) provides the foundation for participation. Rousseau emphasizes that each citizen should participate in the political decision-making process; he goes even beyond that to refer to participation as a "civil obligation" (Rousseau, 1986, p. 17). Rousseau (1986) stresses the duty to participate whereby having the choice to participate might benefit citizens more if they follow their own will and inner driving force instead of obeying. Rousseau (1986) views obeying as a method of forcing the free will that will eventually feed into the general will; this however, conflicts with the free choice of each citizen. The general will is seen as a standard of selfless intentions and common

interests to assess individuals with self-interest that do not want to go beyond their own concerns.

According to Rousseau (1986), certain economic preconditions should exist to be able to take part in the participatory system. He argues for an economically equal and, at the same time, independent society. Existing inequalities should not influence political equity. For example, even citizens with worse preconditions should have the chance to influence politics; it should not be a privilege to the wealthy elite. It is emphasized that law should not be the leading instrument to govern, but instead, the people. Essentially, Rousseau (1986) views participation as the participation in political decision-making and as a way of guarding the private interests of the citizens, while guaranteeing good governance. Within an ideal “Rousseau System”, responsible individuals, social and political action will be developed through the effect of a participatory process (Pateman, 1970, p. 24).

The theoretical discussion of Rousseau (1986) is strengthened by the scholars Mill and Cole (cited in Carol Pateman, 1970) by changing the context of participation from the “city-state” to a modern political system. According to Mill (1963 cited in Pateman, 1970), participation takes place if citizens are able to take part successfully in the governmental activities, bearing in mind that participation has to be nurtured at local level. Furthermore, Cole builds on Rousseau’s basic participatory approach by explaining it in a modern setting and stating that will is the source of social and political organizations. According to him, citizens should be engaged in organizations in order to satisfy their basic needs. He highlights that individuals need to be able to express themselves within the organization. He sees the society as a compound of organizations, “held together by the wills of their members” (cited in Pateman, 1970, p. 36). This indicates that a self-governing citizen should be able to participate in the decision-making of the organizations he is a member of (Pateman, 1970).

Followed by this classical theoretical context Pateman (1970) implies that citizens and organizations cannot be considered separately in the light of Participatory Democracy. Representative institutions above the local level, for example national governments or EU institutions, are not adequate enough to meet the democratic requirements to stimulate the participation of citizens. On the local level citizens can

engage themselves without greater barriers; they can forward their concerns within their own community, yet outside their community participation is not as natural. A so called “social training” (Pateman, 1970) must be enhanced to give the possibility of development. For this reason, the key function of participation is an educative and democratic one. This means to embrace features of gaining practice in democratic procedures. Pateman (1989) does not just pay attention to the possibilities for each citizen to take part in democratic processes, she goes beyond that to focus on women since they are not, “admitted as full and equal ... citizens in any country known as democracy” (p. 210). She emphasizes that the inequality women are facing is hindering democracy from being equal and open. Participatory Theory examines equal participation in the decision-making process and the equality of governing in terms of outcome of decisions. Pateman (1970) summarizes the core idea of the Participatory Model, “*as one where maximum input (participation) is required and where output includes not just policies (decisions) but also the development of the social and political capacities of each individual, so that there is ‘feedback’ from output to input*” (p. 43). Hilmer (2010) expresses as well that the backbone of Participatory Democracy Theory is the supreme participation of citizens in their “self- governance” (p. 43). Warren (1996) however, stresses more the weaknesses within the participatory side by criticizing the positive postulation that citizens in fact are capable of participating in “self-governance”. A “romantic dogma” (p.36) is the description used to reject this theory. From Warren’s point of view, society is on one hand too comprehensive, yet on the other, citizens are not equipped to self-govern within such a comprehensive public sphere. In brief, he determines Participatory Democracy as impracticable. Nevertheless, according to Hilmer (2010) the modes of participation are political actions such as deliberation, management and collective decision-making. The arenas of participation contain civil and economic realms such as: the household, the neighborhood, the workplace or an association. Hilmer (2010) identifies direct participation of citizens in their communities, at their workplace and political parties as the core principle of Participatory Democracy Theory. It brings with it benefits as well, namely empowerment that allows citizens to fully make use of their political potential.

### 3.2 Deliberation Theory

For citizens to be able to participate in different political activities they need to be deliberated, this will be explained in detail in the following section. Generally, deliberation can be defined as a form of communication that supports individual's reflections on preferences, values and interests. Deliberative democratic theory emerged in the 1990s, partly progressed by rational choice theorists that view the citizen as an individual that reflects over limitations and opportunities (Rosenberg, 2007). The essence of deliberation itself is having a *dialogue* about *what to do* using reasoning (Hall, 2007). The process of "reason-giving" is seen as essential. It may contain non-cognitive thoughts that other individuals can accept, aiming for consensus where self-interest is excluded (Rosenberg, 2007). Though one might think that the word "deliberation" stems from *ratio*, which stands for reason, it actually refers to *libra*, which stands for scales. Consequently, to deliberate means weighing choices before making them. Those choices should be wisely reflected on, meaning advantages and disadvantages have to be recognized before a decision is made. At the same time, one should be aware of the consequences that follow a decision (Hall, 2007). Reasoning needs to be treated equally in the decision-making process, including agenda-setting and preference formation, as well as collective decision-making. Essentially, it is about making collective decisions and creating equal power so that the reasoning of the participant is highlighted (Rosenberg, 2007).

Hall (2007) emphasizes that deliberation is to be seen as a process of reasoning, but also of passion. In this process citizens are involved in rational discussions to decide upon "collective life problems" (p. 82). It is important to highlight that a Deliberative Democracy is supposed to lead to choices about what steps to take. To achieve their certain objectives, citizens need passion; in more detail, "passionate commitment and solidarity" (p. 83). If the citizens are not motivated to deliberate, then deliberation cannot take place. This motivation is driven by the passion of the single individual (Hall, 2007). Equally important as passion within the process of deliberation, is communication. Essentially, deliberation refers to public discussions that should be, "reflective, open to a wide range of evidence (and), respectful of different views" (Rosenberg, 2007, p. 102). It is seen as a development of

communication where citizens are able to express their views. It is highlighted that, “deliberation can lead people to better empathize with the other, including with those who have less privilege” (Rosenberg, 2007, p. 102). Along those lines, Meyers (2010) underlines the importance of enhancing public knowledge with deliberative actions like “information sharing, exposing citizens to facts, opinions, and perspectives” (p. 1) that they may not have taken into account themselves when considering their choices. Rosenberg (2007) emphasizes that one core element of deliberation is freedom to express one’s own views and issues. Communication needs to be fostered to assure that kind of freedom. Furthermore, citizens should have equal chances to articulate their concerns and have them heard. Finally, the result of deliberation should be fair and just.

In addition to the harmonized deliberation methods there exist non-deliberative methods, which are for example *self-interest*, *bargaining* and *negotiation*. Bargaining and negotiation are strategies to persuade the will of another individual to reach an agreement. These methods are rejected as they go against the main principle of reasoning; the well thought through reasoning process is jeopardized, resulting in an unequal outcome for the parties involved. However, Mansbridge et al. (2010) emphasizes that an ideal political, legitimate democracy as well as Deliberative Democracy needs to include methods like self-interest and conflicts among participants in order to identify the ideal itself. It is explained that in the political arena, participants take decisions not only on the behalf of others but also for their own interests. The citizens most knowledgeable about the concerns of, for example, a marginalized group, need to deliberate and make their voices heard. In brief, self-interest needs to be incorporated.

Besides balancing decisions and self-interest, citizens will further make choices that satisfy their preferences. In that sense, everyone is his own actor who transfers initiatives into the political arena to include his own concerns. It also implies that the citizen is supposed to have some kind of autonomy that is seen as the capability to influence collective decisions freely and in line with one’s aspiration. Within Deliberation Theory, citizens themselves are not just simple rational actors that are aiming towards satisfying their own needs. Deliberation goes beyond rationality and

enlightens citizens as ethical and moral individuals that are able to reflect and join forces when necessary (Rosenberg, 2007).

Within the political decision-making process deliberation is based on the grounds of *political justification*, meaning that self-governance only functions if decision-making is open to, “appropriate public processes of deliberation by free and equal citizens” (Friedrich, 2007/08). According to Friedrich (2007/08), a dialogue is deliberative if suggestions are explained with a reason as the main pillar of the discussion. This leads to the assumption that “collective choices” (p. 7) have to be balanced within a process of reasoning. This emphasizes that political decisions are, “the outcome of a procedure of free and reasoned deliberation among individuals considered as moral and political equals” (by Benhabib 1996, cited in Friedrich, 2007/08, p. 8).

The German sociologist Habermas is known for theoretical approaches on the public sphere and analysis of democracy and offers a legal perspective of deliberation. Habermas (1998) emphasizes that power and interests have to be regulated by the rule of law. Therefore, the will of self-interested citizens is just one, rather weak, element of the democratic process, but it is the constitutional duty to set normative supplies, like basic rights, to be able to take social interest into account equally. Essentially, Habermas views deliberation as a process that “aims for an agreement that is rationally motivated” (Habermas, 1998, p. 306). The focus lies in the public sphere and its effect on civil society. It is highlighted that the phrase civil society has changed from approaching the “bourgeois society” where social labour and commodity exchange stand in focus, to an institutional discourse where non-governmental and voluntarily associations establish communication constructions of the public sphere (Habermas, 1998). Within these so-called civil society networks, or also CSOs, the issues of citizens are collected and channeled into the wider public sphere. Within the sphere of the CSO, concerns of the citizens are processed, discussed, and furthermore channeled into the “institutionalized political system”, as for example the political arena of the EU (Friedrich, 2007/08, p. 8). In brief, Deliberative Democracy embraces a collective decision-making where all citizens, or CSOs representing them, that are affected by the decision are included in the process.

This can be seen as the link between participation and deliberation. One might also point out that the deliberative approach adds the normative dimension to the participatory model as democracy itself can be seen as an ideal in contrast to a method. Deliberation can enhance a normative dimension to a participatory process that includes direct individual engagement as well as civil society action (Friedrich, 2007/08). In contrast, Mutz (2006) states that deliberation and participation are not compatible with each other; however, the opposite may be true in that Deliberative Democracy gives Participatory Democracy more credibility when it comes to democratic standards and the existence of a legitimate model. In order to assure participation of all citizens for all citizens, Deliberative Participation is in need of rules. To affirm deliberation's conduciveness to democracy, those rules include a transparent organization that guarantees inclusion for all citizens affected by a specific policy. Mutual justification and coherent responsibility needs to be the foundation of all interactions. Along those lines, for a democratic model to be deliberative, several conditions have to be met to embrace full deliberation:

- Assurance that decision-making will not be conducted until deliberation has been completed;
- The political arena must be inclusive;
- Deliberation must be public to ensure inclusion of all potential affected citizens;
- Results of deliberation must be binding on all those involved.

(Rosenberg, 2007)

### **3.3 Empowerment**

One precondition of participation is empowerment, equipping citizens for them to be able to include themselves. Essentially, empowerment means to increase the competences of citizens so that they can make decisions for preferred activities (The World Bank, 2013). According to Andersen and Siim (2004), empowerment is seen as a "process of awareness and capacity building, which increases the participation and decision-making power of citizens". Furthermore, in order to achieve certain goals, citizens need access to resources. The overall aim of empowerment is to

“ensure equal access to the same rights and opportunities for all” (Villeval, 2008, p. 254).

Along the lines of participation and deliberation Fung (2004) is offering a discussion of the relationship of participation, deliberation and empowerment. Fung puts forth the idea that these two approaches of participation and deliberation are actually equivalent. Fung (2006) discusses three dimensions of Participation or the so-called “scope of participation”: firstly, it is crucial to ask *who participates*; secondly, *how do those that participate exchange their information*; and thirdly, *how are those discussions related to policy*. Within those three dimensions, the question becomes who is actually qualified to participate? Fung (2006) answers those with wealth and education. He finds that the more wealthy and educated citizens are, the more they will participate. Furthermore, when discussing issues citizens will offer their interest as an individual or as a group. CSOs are seen as the crucial link in the decision-making “chain” since they can serve the interest of citizens or groups and therefore influence inequality. Similarly, associations are seen as a major part of civil society structure where citizens deliberate with each other to discuss and formulate public opinions, as well as “criticism of officials, policies, and state actions” (Fung, 2003, p. 516). Eventually some associations or CSOs construct a platform for direct participation, which leads to the position that CSOs can contribute to democracy. CSOs can feed into democracy by increasing citizens’ sense of efficacy, supplying political information, empowering political skills and teaching a critical view. CSOs can be seen as a central constituent of civil society. Fung (2003) promotes different concepts that could potentially foster CSOs’ contributions to democracy. He explains that “Civic Socialization and Political Education”, which focuses on the way CSOs can influence the attitudes, skills, and behaviors of citizens, can eventually benefit democracy. CSOs play an important part within the democratic model as they teach their members skills, for example how to organize themselves, how to run meetings, write letters, argue issues, and make speeches. These skills are all important if you want to act within a political arena. The main impact a CSO has is the provision of its members with skills that are beneficial in political associations and institutions. Participation patterns mirror an underlying socioeconomic bias. Citizens that are

wealthier are more likely to participate in CSOs and thereby obtain the skills needed to participate in political life. Also, resistance and checking power can contribute to democracy, for the reason that CSOs can act as a source of balancing power against the state authority or other interests. Furthermore, interest representation to provide individual channels beyond voting, lobbying and direct contact with public officials, so that the citizens can present their issues (Fung, 2003). Fung (2006) highlights as well the importance of equality and adds also the criteria of inclusion. Practically, this means that citizens who want to participate in addressing their concerns should have equal opportunities and capabilities to bring forward their views and make a demand.

### **3.4 Analytical framework**

With respect to the discussions above, the analytical framework is developed to examine the research aim, specifically analyzing the participation of national members of European CSOs. Firstly, the main analytical objects will be introduced, which is followed by the different dimensions of participation.

#### **3.4.1 Main analytical objects**

The foundation of this analytical framework is Participatory Democracy followed by Deliberative Democracy and empowerment. The three concepts for the analytical framework will be presented briefly and summarized in table 1 below, as the main theoretical approaches were already stated comprehensively in the sections above.

The theoretical discussion about participation developed several analytical aspects. In line with table 1 below participation is associated with the procedure through which members are included in the internal decision-making process of the organization. Formal participation refers to voting, for example when electing the board. Furthermore, members should also be consulted for strategic decisions. Participation should enhance the communication process where the staff of a CSO acquires information that allows them to understand issues and interests of their national members. By including members who are affected by the advocacy work taking place, the CSO can guarantee that its policy work matches the needs of its members.

There are several ways to indicate deliberation. It intends to reflect the members' preferences, values and interests. When it comes to decision making reasoning should be used to weigh choices so that everybody can be equally included, besides reasoning members should also show passion since it leads to deliberation. Deliberation is also related to communication. Members should receive sufficient information about political concerns so that they have the opportunity to discuss their concerns and finally emerge with a clear decision about what to include in the decision-making process.

The theoretical discussion about empowerment refers to actions that will provide members, especially disadvantaged groups, with, for example, funding (travel grants), affirmation action, capacity building and even the supply of technical assistance. Empowerment is seen as a precondition to participation. In practice, members may need to be empowered first to be able to express their political concerns. On the other, participation demands that members are actually consulted.

In addition, table 1 below shows that there are some overlapping indicators, which reflects that the theoretical approaches are intertwined. The indicator communication within the concept of participation reflects the possibility for citizens to express concerns, however within the concept of deliberation it refers to an exchange of information. The indicator education within the concept of deliberation touches upon enhancing knowledge but within empowerment education refers more precisely to actively teaching skills that are beneficial for the political arena.

Table 1: Analytical framework to examine the participation of the national members of CSOs.

<b>Theoretical Concepts</b>	<b>Key aspects</b>	<b>Key Indicators</b>
<b>Participation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Practice to involve members in d-m-p</li> <li>• Early involvement of members</li> <li>• Individuals are in fact consulted</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Elect board</li> <li>• Decisions at strategic level</li> <li>• Communication</li> <li>• What do the members need to know to participate?</li> <li>• Sense of belonging</li> </ul>
<b>Deliberation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reasoning</li> <li>• Weigh choices</li> <li>• Equal inclusion</li> <li>• Passion</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Who can participate</li> <li>• Communication/Information</li> <li>• Exchange</li> <li>• Access</li> <li>• Education</li> </ul>
<b>Empowerment</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Empower members to enable them to voice their concerns</li> <li>• Access to appropriate resources</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Round tables</li> <li>• Travel grants, capacity building</li> <li>• Task definition: nature and scope of the members task should be clarified</li> <li>• Education</li> </ul>

Sources: Steffek et al. (2010), Rosenberg (2007), Hall (2007), Fung (2006), Pateman (1970)

### **3.4.2 Formal dimension of participation vs. informal dimension of participation**

Steffek et al. (2010) introduced the idea of distinguishing between formal and informal participation of national members of International Organizations. The main idea will be presented below, as it will be an essential part of the analytical framework.

Formal rules and procedures are stable criteria for European CSOs to increase the participation of national members. In general, formal rules of participation are mainly associated with the availability of sanctions. Typically, umbrella organizations use formal methods of organizing outreach. It applies through representative bodies, like for example the board, that presents the organization itself and possibly also its

national members. The rights of participation are clearly defined as well as participatory procedures. Steffek et al. (2010) talk about the role of a transnational representative body, which may have a different name in a different organization that has an essential function in regulating the executive body of the organization as well as to accommodate input from members. The formal rules of participation of members can be found in the bylaws and other administrative documents.

Informal participation of national members however, embraces direct contact, which is understood as a way to communicate and consult with individual and national members; typically, the staff of the CSO conducts this communication. Informal discussions can increase the quality of the work of CSOs. Essentially, more voices become involved in the discussions and arguments, meaning the opinions of national members are included. One cost of informal communication and consultation is that it can foster informal power structures. At the same time, formal participation does not ensure that dealings are conducted equally and inclusively. National members or often consulted electronically. The staff of the CSOs mainly examines explicit questions. Within formal participation, procedures of internal democracy are expected to be regularly applied and that disadvantaged groups of members are mobilized and supported. Informal participation is expected to be open to direct participation of their national members in order to allow deliberation by everyone, as well as to reach those members who are actually affected by the work of the CSO.

## **4. Method**

The following section describes the methods used for empirical data collection. Empirical data is what one perceives or observes from a social environment (Schaffer, 2002). In order to examine that kind of perception, a case study as a concept is introduced, followed by the presentation of a specific case. Finally, this paper will explain semi-structured interviews as a method, followed by document analysis and a reflection of the methods chosen.

## 4.1 Case study

The essential idea of conducting a case study is to investigate a single case in detail. A case is an individual object or subject and the aim is to provide an in-depth explanation of it. A case can be, for example, a location, a community, or an organization. According to Bryman (2008), the case is, “the focus of interest in its own right” (p. 53). The special feature of a case is what makes it unique and worth examining. Gommon, Hammersley and Foster (2000) establish that more in depth data can be collected if just a small amount of cases are investigated in the field. Hence, a case study investigates a few cases, or even just one, from an in depth perspective. The purpose of a case study is to understand a specific case in its individuality and look at it through a researcher’s eye, which gives the possibility to illuminate a reality that otherwise might have been overlooked. Investigating a single case helps to understand a greater issue comprehensively and to gain an inside-out knowledge concerning a specific subject. This thesis investigates how national members of European CSOs participate and are deliberated by choosing just one CSO, thereby gaining in depth insight into the research aim by focusing on specific details rather than various facts pertinent to other CSOs. Along those lines, Siggelkow (2007) highlights that often it is desired to select a particular organization. The fact that it offers a special feature alone means that a certain insight can be gained.

Typically, qualitative methods are favoured for conducting a case study as they allow for the above mentioned in depth analysis of a case (Bryman, 2008). Qualitative methods do not focus on “evidence” or support through numbers like quantitative methods, but are more eager to “understand” the subject (Schaffer, 2002). Understanding is an epistemological principal and Flick (1998) emphasizes that within qualitative investigation the aim is to investigate the subject “from the interior” (p. 26).

It is possible for an investigation to make use of cross-sectional, as well as, case study elements. Cross-sectional design is used when the researcher is interested in representing variation. Variation can entail investigating different families, organizations or even nation states. It is highlighted that variation can only be reached

by investigating more than two cases (Bryman, 2008). While this thesis investigated one European CSO, national members of three different countries that belong to the organization were interviewed, and therefore cross-sectional elements were utilized. The research design of a case study was employed to gain an in depth understanding into political participation of national members of European CSOs. The object of the case is one CSO, where empirical research is used to create the desired knowledge about European CSOs and their national members.

Additionally, since different national members of three different countries were investigated, a comparative approach was taken into consideration in order to explore similarities and differences between the members. A comparative design usually investigates two contrasting cases by using identical methods. While this thesis did not make use of this exact design, the logic of comparison was used to understand social phenomena better and to enrich the analysis by including balancing elements (Bryman, 2008).

## **4.2 Selection of case**

The selection of the case stands in direct relation to the research question of the study. The choice of a specific European CSO was made by considering the following criteria: firstly, the CSO had to be mainly funded by the European Commission as part of the “Participatory Concept” of the EU institutions to foster citizen’s engagement. Secondly, it had to be a membership-based organization or so called meta-organizations. Ahrne and Brunsson (2008) state that all meta-organizations are associations whose purpose is to work in the interest of their members. Thirdly, it had to be a CSO that claims to voice their members’ concerns.

The European CSO European Network Against Racism (ENAR) is the selected case since it fulfills all the criteria and calls itself, “the voice of the anti-racist movement in Europe” (ENAR, 2013). ENAR has currently nearly 100 national members in all 27 EU countries. Again, when keeping in mind the research question it is clear that the national members of ENAR need to be the main object of the investigation. Therefore, ENAR and its members is the case study to be investigated in this study. The decision is supported by the illustration of George and Bennet

(2005) that emphasize that case studies can include single cases, but also comparisons of small numbers of cases.

The choice of what national members to interview was done upon interest and practicality. Data collection was done in Sweden, Denmark and Germany due to proximity. There was an obvious advantage of speaking German and Swedish when conducting the interviews, as there were no language barriers to investigate a specific national member. Only the interviews with Danish members had to be in English. Members were chosen according to availability and logistical accessibility. One has to be aware that Denmark, Sweden and Germany differ from each other. Denmark and Sweden have, for example, much smaller populations in comparison to Germany that might influence the number of members and resources. The chosen members are presented in table 2. A detailed description can be found in Appendix B (p.79).

Table 2: Overview of national members

<b>Sweden</b>	<b>Denmark</b>	<b>Germany</b>
The English International Association of Lund	The documentation-and advisory Center on Racial Discrimination	Office for the implementation of equal treatment
Pan African Movement	Soteria International	Initiative Black People
	SOS against Racism	Anti-Racist Intercultural Information Centre Berlin

#### **4.4 Semi-structured interview**

The two main types of interviewing are the unstructured interview and the semi-structured interview. The semi-structured interview was chosen since this method allows for the investigation of more explicit subjects where structure is required so that, “more specific issues can be addressed” (Bryman, 2008, p. 439). In an unstructured interview the interviewee is allowed to respond freely, which means that this form of interviewing is more like a conversation. This method of interviewing was not appropriate for this research subject since specific topics and themes had to be explored (Bryman, 2008).

The aim of a semi-structured interview is to draw insights and knowledge from the respondent. In qualitative interviewing the interest lies in the point of view of the interviewees and what is important in their individual reality (Bryman, 2008). Within the semi-structured interview the interviewee stands with his manifestations in the center of examination (Schaffer, 2002).

The aim was to interview national members from Denmark, Sweden and Germany as well as one staff member from the Brussels office to get a holistic picture about the issue and the way ENAR functions. The interview in Brussels was conducted with ENAR's Networking and Communication officer. Since it was carried out prior to the interviews with the national members, the information gained through the interview and the theory in section three served as a basis for designing the interview guidelines for the remaining interviews.

In order to gain in depth responses, the interview questions were used as a guide that allowed flexibility and left room for follow up questions. During the interview it was possible to change the order of questions of the interview guide to ask follow-up questions as well. The respondents themselves could ask questions in case of uncertainty. The most important requirement was to follow the common thread of the interview guide (Bryman, 2008). In general, the semi-structured interview called for paraphrasing to repeat respondent's answers, to ensure that content is understood correctly. That method was used as well to ensure mutual understanding during the interview (Schaffer, 2002).

The guide for the interview with ENAR's Networking and Communication officer was different from the guide for the interview with the national members. This is motivated by the fact that staff from the Brussels office has another insight in the engagement with its members, and therefore the guide had to be adjusted for maximum research outcome.

#### **4.5 Analyzing documents**

To complement the interviews, text and document analysis were used to gain more information about ENAR and its members as well to gain a comprehensive picture of participation. The documents analyzed are all available on ENAR's official webpage.

The ones utilized offered information about membership requirements, membership benefits, the decision-making structure, and ENAR's vision and mission. Also, the documents gave information about different actions, for example ENAR's strategies to influence the European political agenda where members are possibly involved. Furthermore, documents about the national members who were chosen for interviews were analyzed as well. If available, information was taken from the national member's official webpage. Even if more documents exist that might have been beneficial for the analysis (May, 1997), the study relied on the documents available at ENAR's and its national member's webpages due to time limitations.

Analyzing documents focuses on determining what they contain. Documents always contain information, yet beyond that every document, "enters into human activity in a dual relation" (Given, 2008, p. 230). Documents relate to a feature of the social world we are living in since they are socially produced. ENAR's webpage is one of the main ways for the organization to provide information for members and other stakeholders and is therefore an important source that also reflects the way ENAR communicates with its members. They can reflect the reality and the documents used from ENAR's webpage might also reflect the reality of the organization and their medium to express their organizational features. Through the webpage different arenas that national members might participate in were determined. Also, analyzing the documents regarding the membership benefits provided crucial information used in preparation for the interviews with the national members and was also of use when analyzing the collected data (May, 1997).

Once again, the documents available at ENAR's and its national member's webpages complemented the interviews. Neither would document analysis nor interviewing alone have been beneficial to give full insight into the participation of national members. So the two methods were combined. Hereby it is interesting to notice that each document includes information, but also leaves out information and therefore social reality is constructed through it (May, 1997).

## **4.6 Analytic data strategies**

In general, the data was analyzed with the help of the theoretical approach from section three. Following the theoretical foundation established from section three, analytical categories were created. According to Gumbrium and Holstein (2002), in order to associate theoretical perspectives, different processes are needed to establish categories and interpret the data collected. Along those lines, different steps were taken. Firstly, with the help of elementary coding, a distinction was made between basic categories that were formed following the theoretical notions of participation, deliberation and empowerment. Secondly, more specific subcategories were developed to allow for further analysis of the data so that results could be assigned to individual categories to draw on the theoretical pattern. Thirdly, findings were classified according to country for the respective categories to carry out a more in depth coding so that the social reality of the interviewees could be analyzed through a thoughtful reflection guided by the theoretical basics of section three to create a “conceptual ...reality” (Daly, 2007, p.211). Also, the analysis uses “quoted excerpts” from the interviews to underline the analysis in the final text (Gumbrium and Holstein, 2002, p. 770). Overall, the theoretical approach of section three was the leading thread of the analytical strategies.

## **4.7 Reflections and limitations**

One should reflect on the chosen methods to become aware of possible bias and limitations. Selecting ENAR over all the other European CSOs is one aspect that influences the outcome of the study to a great extent. Another case could have led to an entirely different outcome, but the aim was to focus on one case to gain more knowledge; therefore it has to be kept in mind that this one case gives one specific insight about the issue of the participation of national members of CSOs. At the same time, it is acknowledged that this is the only outcome this thesis can present. According to May (1997), methods depend on time and resources in relation to the research aim. The selection of the national members had to be based on accessibility and logistical advantages due to time limitations, and is therefore to some extent a

biased selection. Nevertheless, members were not chosen according to personal preferences, but with an attempt to have some kind of variety of interview organizations with different thematic approaches.

The interviews had to be scheduled within a short time frame and within a specific time period due to time constraints and therefore little room was left to reflect on the interview guide and conducted interviews. Nevertheless, the interviews themselves were done without time constraints. The choice of location had to be flexible according to the interviewees' needs. Some interviews were conducted within an office, but others were done in cafés or libraries. Nevertheless, all locations were adequate and allowed for conducting the interview in a relaxed atmosphere.

Also, the method of analyzing data had to rely on the data available on the webpage on the respective organizations. When relying on data one always has to be aware of the risk that the desired information is not accessible (May, 1997). ENAR's webpage was the main source and sufficient for collecting the needed information. It might be difficult to determine if there was anything missing, since ENAR is the only case and therefore was not compared to any other webpage. The member's webpages were, in comparison to ENAR's, less comprehensive, but sufficient enough to find out key aspects about the organization. Only one organization had no webpage; however, necessary information was determined in the interview.

Moreover, as a researcher the organization was known previous to the data collection through a three month internship within the office in Brussels. That experience offered the advantage of a certain understanding about structures, processes, and the way different arenas of ENAR function. It also offered an understanding of the work of anti-racism and anti-discrimination, which reflects ENAR's general working approach. For conducting the interviews with the national members, it was an advantage having knowledge about ENAR when specific topics were touched upon; a better form of understanding could be offered during the interviews. However, one also has to be aware that being a former trainee at ENAR might have biased the answers of the interviewees and could have been interpreted as being partial. The dimension of this kind of bias is not measurable but can only be acknowledged.

Essentially, using two methods within the framework of a case study was a big advantage to get a deeper understanding about the participation of the members. Collecting information about ENAR's membership before the interviews allowed the interviewer to reflect on the circumstances of being a member and consequently to use that information when developing the interview guide.

#### **4.8 Reliability, validity and generalizability**

Reliability, validity and generalizability within qualitative research can be described as various kinds of measures that investigate the quality, severity and comprehensive potential of the thesis.

Reliability shows the degree of stability when measuring a concept and the degree to which the measurement can be repeated. One has to notice that within qualitative research, replication is rather difficult. When investigating a person's perception on a specific topic, that perception might look different already two hours after the interview because circumstances change and no word said will be repeated in the exact same way. However, conducting interviews with the same members of ENAR, at the same place with the exact same questions is possible. Still, it cannot be guaranteed that the outcome will be the exact same because time and space change, as do people and their knowledge (Bryman, 2008).

Validity stresses the consistency of the outcome of a research study. It refers to the link of theoretical ideas developed and the investigation itself. The level of congruence between the concept and the investigation is of importance. Validity implies as well the possibility of generalizing the research findings "across social settings" (Bryman, 2008, p. 376). Case studies and small samples are seen as problematic since their validity is low, which means that the validity of this thesis is as well.

Generalization, however, is concerned with the external validity of research outcomes. It stresses whether or not research findings can be representative of the population (Bryman, 2008). Investigating ENAR and its members is a single case where different interviews were conducted. A single case cannot be representative. Often, the question arises if a case study research can be generalized, and the answer

is that it cannot. It is not a sample, but instead gives deeper understanding of a specific theme (Bryman, 2008). However, Siggelkow (2007) states that even if a single case cannot be representative, it provides an illustration of casual relationships because “a single case can be a very powerful example” (p. 20). On the one hand, Gomm, Hammersley and Foster (2000) stress that in general, researchers always strive towards drawing generalizations from their findings and on the other, it is emphasized that traditional qualitative research disregards the pressure of generalization since it is not in line with the goals of qualitative investigation. Qualitative research aims towards describing a specific subject in detail in order to explain the existing model (Gomm, Hammersley and Foster, 2000). Investigating the participation of the members of ENAR is not supposed to represent the participation of all members of European CSOs, but to give in depth insight about ENAR and its members in Germany and Sweden and Denmark and at the same time to give some kind of understanding of the phenomenon of CSOs and the participation of their national members. The intention is to “let the case speak” (Siggelkow, 2007, p. 22) through theoretical lenses and thoughts of the author.

#### **4.9 Ethical consideration**

Considering ethical principles with the thesis is important for the credibility of the study and also adds to the professionalism. Four main areas are seen as important when it comes to including ethical concerns: possible harm to participants, lack of informed consent, invasion of privacy and involvement of deception (Bryman, 2008). Harm would include physical harm and loss of self-esteem, and none of the methods included any practice that would do harm to any of the participants. Furthermore, lack of informed consent was prevented by requiring all the participants to sign a “letter of consent” where they were informed about the study, the way the interview is conducted, their rights, and even about the choice to be anonymous or not. The third area, invasion of privacy, was not breached since participants could choose what questions to answer, so any question that might have jeopardized the privacy of the participants could have been avoided by them. When it comes to deception, it can be said that the purpose of the study was presented accurately and that there was no

aspiration to deceive the participants. The interviews were based on openness, honesty and trust to assure that participants could feel confident in their contributions.

## **5. The European Network Against Racism**

In the chapters five through eight the results of the study are analyzed according to the research aim and the theoretical framework. Chapter five illustrates the structure of ENAR and draws upon what kind of arenas exist to participate in the political sphere of the EU through ENAR. Additionally, chapter six shows which of the possible arenas of ENAR national members are actually participating in, what forms of participation exist and how decisions are made within the different arenas. Chapter seven describes the communication within the different arenas and how national members exchange information with ENAR. Finally, chapter eight deals with the importance of resources when it comes to participation. The theoretical reflections are not bound to the individual sections, but are holistically intertwined throughout the whole analysis. In the analysis and conclusion when referring to activities at European level “ENAR” will be used and when talking about ENAR activities at national level it will be referred to as “national platform”.

### **5.1 The European CSO ENAR**

ENAR was founded in 1998 after the European Year of Racism and is an international non-governmental organization that works in a policy oriented and capacity building way in order to achieve its main goal: combating racism in Europe. According to its webpage, ENAR informs and links its national members that are somewhat involved in work within anti-racism and discrimination. The aim of ENAR is to represent their members at the European level and act in their favor (ENAR statutes, 2012). ENAR’s work includes coordination of the ENAR network, influencing the European political agenda, involvement in strategic alliances with other actors and generating new ideas (ENAR, 2012).

The organizational structure of ENAR consists of the three main bodies for the decision-making structure: the General Assembly (GA), the board, and the member

organizations. Besides those main bodies, there are advisory bodies that are the advisory committees or so called ad hoc committees, the annual European Council of National Platform Coordinators and the national platforms. The sovereign body of ENAR is the GA that manages and directs the organization; for example, it defines and approves the annual programme, long-term strategic directions (every three years), elects the board, and is responsible for the amendments to the statutes and the operating manual. Only full members of ENAR can be part of the GA, whereby each member has a vote. Decisions are taken by a 50% plus one majority of vote of the representatives of the members of ENAR. All national members of ENAR are welcome to participate in the GA, which is linked to the European Anti-Racist convention and every three years to the ENAR strategic congress as well (ENAR statutes, 2012).

The board of ENAR is responsible for the governance and supervising of the longer-term strategy. It is also responsible for guiding the director of ENAR. The board is composed of 11 members who are elected at the GA. One third steps down every year and three new people are elected to have a “refreshment process” (Networking-and Communication officer, Interview 28.01.13). The role of the board is a representative one, where long term and organizational thinking are in focus rather than policy work. Four positions in the board of ENAR are permanent: the chair, the two vice chairs and the treasurer. They are permanent as those positions are most visible and important. Special skills are required to be nominated for one of those four positions. The chair, for example, should have a good knowledge of the network and how European funds work. In addition, the chair should be a good spokesperson, with the same applying to the vice chair. Being the treasurer of ENAR requires financial skills and knowledge about European grants and European budgets, projects and fundraising. Those four permanent board members will step down every three years. Furthermore, when electing candidates for the board ENAR is striving for a gender and diversity balance (Networking-and Communication officer, Interview 28.01.13).

Moreover, the board has the task of establishing advisory bodies, a standing strategic policy committee as well as ad hoc advisory thematic committees that “meet

according to each need” (Networking-and Communication officer, Interview 28.01.13). Becoming a member of one of these committees depends on your expertise. It is open to all members of ENAR, friends of ENAR, external experts and national platform coordinators, but ENAR is actually pre-selecting the candidates invited.

Another form of the advisory bodies is the national platforms. Each European country with at least three members should assemble a national platform. The national platform is seen as a “meeting point” or working group where issues concerning policy and advocacy work can be coordinated. National platforms meet according to their needs rather than meeting formally at certain times. However, the national platform requires some formal structure, a statutory meeting, and a coordinator to have some kind of interface (Networking-and Communication officer, Interview 28.01.13).

The secretariat in Brussels is responsible for coordinating the decision-making structure and the advisory bodies, as well as, all of the day-to-day business. The secretariat consists of eight staff members, including the director that is representing ENAR on behalf of the board at the working level

### **5.1.2. ENAR Membership**

Within ENAR you can become a full member, an associate member or a friend of ENAR. Associate members are organizations and can only have an observing role when participating in ENAR activities. Friends of ENAR however, are individuals or incorporated entities that also play an observing role. Non-profit organizations can become a full member of ENAR; a full member can be an organization, an academic center, a trade union, advocacy organizations, information institutes, research centers, faith-based organizations or a service-oriented organization. Essentially, any kind of organization that works in the field of anti-discrimination in an EU/EEA country and shares the vision of ENAR can become a member (ENAR statutes, 2012). ENAR is using a progressive scheme whereby members have to pay a membership fee that is based on the annual income of the organization, starting with a 50 Euro fee for an income lower than 20,000 Euro and more than 1000 Euro if the income is over two

million Euros per year. According to ENAR's Networking-and Communication officer (Interview 28.01.13), ENAR highlights trust when working with their members and therefore members declare their annual income themselves. It is worth it to point out that every organization has to pay the minimum of 50 Euro, which could be a barrier for small grass root organizations that have no income at all. ENAR's Networking-and Communication officer (Interview 28.01.13) explained that a solidarity fund might be a future option to support organizations that are not able to afford that fee, nevertheless at the present time the 50 Euro fee is obligatory.

ENAR offers several exclusive benefits to its members; information sharing is one of them. According to ENAR (2013), members receive a weekly mail with the latest updates about ENAR, policy updates on European and national level, as well as updates about the work of other NGO's in the field of discrimination. Furthermore, a free access to policy updates is guaranteed. In terms of participation in the decision-making structures of ENAR, members have the possibility to participate in projects in partnership with ENAR, take part in business-oriented consortia and become involved in the GA with any accommodation and travel covered. Additionally, each member can receive free policy advice and access to ENAR's network. Moreover, members have the possibility to access ENAR's social media network to propagate their own initiatives (ENAR, 2013). Support to develop transnational projects within ENAR is offered, especially for accessing available EU funding. Members also have the opportunity to take part in capacity building trainings to enhance their competences at the national level. Finally, members have the right to get support for setting up advocacy and lobbying meetings with EU officials (ENAR, 2013).

### **5.1.3 Arenas of participation within ENAR**

The following section explains the possibilities for participation at the EU level through ENAR. Some of the possible arenas are already described in section 5.1, but are brought together in this section to give a clear overview. Within ENAR national members can participate through various ways. Participation will be described beginning with formal forms, followed by participation in a less formal context, and finally informal forms will be presented.

Formal participation takes place by being elected to the board during the GA, which takes place once a year. That form of participation allows direct involvement in the decision-making processes of ENAR. Besides being part of the board, national members can influence strategic issues by being part of the so-called strategic committee. These committees are assigned to advise the board and can, therefore, indirectly influence decision-making (ENAR statutes, 2012).

Participating in an ad hoc advisory group, where different experts come together in Brussels to work on one specific topic, can be seen as less formal than being part of the board. That kind of participation is more focused on EU based content work where different topics are discussed, debated and developed under a certain aim. This kind of participation is seen as less formal since it is more based on specific issues and is not part of the decision-making process but ad hoc groups are assigned to advise the board and ENAR's Brussels office. According to Steffek et al. (2010), informal participation embraces direct contact that is understood as communication and consultation with national members. Along those lines, ENAR consults national members for policy or structural papers where national members can contribute with their ideas and make comments. ENAR also sends out different thematic questionnaires where member's input is required to feed into different policy recommendations (Networking-and Communication officer, Interview 28.01.13).

*“Every time we draft a general policy paper, we first have to send it to everybody, the policy committee and then to all the members...”* (Networking-and Communication officer, Interview 28.01.13)

ENAR's Networking-and Communication officer summarizes that there are two levels of participation. The first level is through collecting information from national members and the second is through the decision-making process. Besides those two levels of participation national members can also participate in more informal ways (Interview, 28.01.13).

Within the framework of informal participation national members can conduct a campaign together with ENAR to take advantage of the organization's expertise as well as to channel their campaign work into the European sphere. Through that kind of participation the national and European level connect through ENAR.

There is also the possibility to participate in conferences organized by ENAR; this is where national members have the possibility to inform themselves, but also to have direct contact with ENAR, other national members and possibly EU officials or other staff from the European sphere. Other than that, ENAR organizes symposiums that are conferences with a more academic focus. It is a platform where expert knowledge is required and therefore, may not be open to all national members. This required expertise creates some kind of exclusion for national members.

Participation that is separate from the national level is possible through the yearly “Shadow report” ENAR is publishing; through this report each member country has an opportunity to contribute an individual report, “to offer an NGO perspective on the realities of racism with the EU and its Member States “ (ENAR, 2013).

Another way of participating is through the national platform; this is where all members of the respective countries build their own platforms to communicate on the national level, but also to represent the members of their country in a more united way. This offers them the opportunity to, for example, express concerns happening in their country to ENAR, but also to network with each other. The respective networks within each country are a national platform.

More informal forms of participation are ENAR’s official web- and Facebook page where members can inform themselves on an ongoing basis. Beyond that, national members receive a weekly newsletter and occasional brochures. National members can communicate with ENAR via email or phone.

#### **5.1.4 ENAR’s structure**

In June 2012, ENAR’s 11<sup>th</sup> GA decided on a new statute for ENAR, which entailed a new governance structure (ENAR, 2013). After assessing the quality of its governance model through a survey addressed to the members, a need to focus more on the local level was determined and consequently ENAR changed its membership strategy. The chain of communication was found to be a major problem. ENAR established a new structure for composing the board where members are chosen according to their skills and expertise. Additionally, since the national coordination, which represented all national members within one country, created obstacles of

unequal representation of organizations in the respective country they were turned into national platforms instead that have no hierarchical representation, but meetings according to member's needs. ENAR's Networking-and Communication officer explained that national coordination's took advantage of their role within the recruitment process of new organizations or within the "communication flow".

*"...sometimes, in some countries what we had is that ...the coordinator was only accepting membership requests from their friends and this cannot be the case. To have a kind of variation, you need bananas, apples and pears in the basket you can't have just bananas for a fruit salad, you need everything".* (Networking-and Communication officer, Interview 28.01.13)

For example, when launching a discussion to monitor data or collect information, data did not reach the members at the local level like ENAR had intended and that was a problem. The ENAR determined that if they want to reach citizens, "on the ground, their communication needs to be direct" (Networking-and Communication officer, Interview 28.01.13).

The current national platform is supposed to be a "contact point" instead of being representative. A further advantage, through the new direct channeling of communication is that members can be reached directly and information is not channeled through a national coordination (Networking-and Communication officer, Interview 28.01.13).

## **6. Participation**

Participation, as discussed within the theoretical approach, highlights the common interest of citizens and eventually unites them. European CSOs are the platform where citizens can unite to participate within the political sphere of the EU. Through allowing the citizens participate in the organization, their private interests are protected. Self-expression within a European CSO is an important factor as well as being an equal part of the decision-making process as an individual member (Rousseau 1986, Pateman 1970). The theoretical framework of participatory

democracy led to the understanding that formal participation increases informal participation.

## **6.1 Arenas of participation of national members of ENAR**

Arenas of participation of national members range from formal till informal forms of ENAR activities. Departing from formal participation, several national members interviewed did at some point attend a board meeting, which means they were involved in the decision-making process of ENAR. One Swedish national member who is part of the board could, through this function, highlight “people of African descent” as a group that ENAR should pay more attention to. Eventually, ENAR integrated projects to raise awareness about the situation of “people with African descent” and formed a “Steering Group on People of African Descent and Black Europeans”. According to Steffek et al. (2010), formal rules are a stable indicator for increased participation of national members of ENAR. SOS’s Treasure in Denmark emphasized that

*“...the closer you are to the power, the more influence you get”* (Interview, 22.04.13).

This statement underlines the way national members perceive formal participation and what it means for them to be, for example, part of the board. National members actively engaged in the board or one of ENAR’s ad hoc groups showed a higher level of participation, which seems natural but at the same time it appeared that those members also have a higher understanding of ENAR as an organization, a greater understanding about ENAR’s activities at the European level, and become more conscious about ENARs work in general. Other members who are not included in the board have less possibility to affect change and influence direct decisions. But also, to use this kind of formal participation to include other ENAR activities that could be feasible for their national organization, their self-interest and the political sphere in general. In practice, not every member can be part of the board and use this platform to express their concerns; for this reason, it forms some kind of inequality between the national members. The question becomes, what are other forms of participation that can balance this kind of inequality?

After ENAR's structural change (see 5.1.4), the next GA where a new board will be elected allows each single national member organization to candidate. Every national member interviewed expressed that they are interested in participating in the GA. For example, Soteria in Denmark emphasized that they are highly interested in the formal decision-making process of ENAR, but that they do not have sufficient resources to perform such a position. Currently, they prefer to focus on their work within Soteria where they "know how to do" (Director of Communication, Interview 11.04.03). The Initiative Black People e.V. (ISD) in Germany is interested in being part of the board as well, but such a position has to bring some kind of benefits for their organization. They also have to weigh their time resources, as those are scarce. Hence, resources play a crucial role when deciding to candidate for the board; when considering Patemans (1970) statement of the importance of equality, joining the board may be a privilege of national members that have the benefit of more resources and time. Essentially, the analysis suggests that resources influence participation in the board. At the same time, for example, the spokesperson from the Pan-African Movement in Sweden is working fulltime and is still engaged in the board, despite time constraints. Generally, it can be said that the possibility to be part of the board are available, but not every national member has the ability to take that opportunity.

Various members are part of a so called ad hoc group where national members and experts from the EU institutions, academia and other NGOs come together to work on a specific topic.

*"There was a group of experts that was invited by ENAR to discuss how to measure discrimination ..."* (DRC's Executive director, 11.04.13).

The above statement illustrates how national members are engaged in these ad hoc groups. This is a more informal way of participating as the focus is on content issue work rather than influencing strategic decisions. Nevertheless, this kind of content work can influence ENAR's policy work and actions. These ad hoc groups offer advice to both the board and the secretariat in Brussels (ENAR statutes, 2012) and therefore, have an indirect influence on the decision-making of ENAR.

However, participation in ad hoc groups is upon request from ENAR and is based on an individual or organization's expertise (ENAR's Networking- and

Communication officer, Interview 28.01.13). In that sense, within this kind of participation ENAR decides whom to invite. This is expressed through the following statement by ENAR:

*“So it means like if the horizontal directive is blocked, then we are going to call a group of experts, you are going to check the data base, see what kind of expertise you are looking for, we are going to invite this person to the ad hoc committee, of course there is a limit, we can’t invite everybody” (Networking-and Communication officer, Interview 18.01.13).*

Some members expressed that they did not receive such requests, which may be due to the expertise selection process from ENAR. This means that these particular organizations did not fit into the content framework for the respective group. The motive of ENAR of being selective is understandable for practical reasons. Nevertheless, participation theory highlights equal involvement (Pateman, 1989) of national members, which is neglected through such a selection that has the ability to actively influence the overall participation of national members.

A few members expressed that they were consulted for policy papers or structural papers from ENAR, but others stated directly:

*“No, they don’t consult with me.”*

This more informal form of consultation gives national members the chance to enter informal discussions and add their own arguments and opinions. It can be seen as a form of deliberation where one uses reasoning to influence a decision (Hall, 2007) about what content will be published. Therefore, since not all members were directly consulted, it can be concluded that deliberating methods of ENAR are selective. This shows a multi-level scale of participation where participation at a higher level, ENAR activities at EU level, requires consequently more expertise. If a national member does not have the conditions, meaning expert knowledge, he will not be invited to participate in such an ad hoc group. This, in turn, creates some form of “elite participation”.

However, ISD in Germany is of the opinion that requests from ENAR, where input from the member was asked for, are too short-term. ISD Germany underlined that they don’t have the resources to answer such requests on such short notice, like

one-weeks' time. National members that work just on a volunteer basis require more time to answer such requests. In fact, such short-term requests limit their ability to participate.

A few members were also engaged in campaigns with ENAR, which promotes more informal participation. It gives national members the chance to channel their national activities into the European sphere. ISD in Germany expressed that

*"...when we started with this petition it was also important for us to promote it at European level as well"* (ISD Advisory board member, Interview 16.04.13)

This statement highlights the importance for national members to use ENAR when bringing their national actions to a European level to get more attention and be overall more effective.

Additionally, national members can engage themselves in the yearly "Shadow report" of ENAR to represent the national level within a European framework. Only a few interviewees have indicated their participation in the "Shadow report" and others, like Soteria in Denmark, expressed an interest to contribute to the next edition. Also, one of the national members in Sweden expressed that they were interested in contributing to the "Shadow report", but another national member was chosen over them. That can be interpreted as competition between national members when it comes to particular forms of participation like contributing to the "Shadow report". It was even less common that interviewees contributed articles that were published on ENAR's webpage, which again shows that the chance for deliberation where national members have the opportunity to express their own views is limited.

It can be concluded that formal participation gives national members of ENAR the chance to actively influence decisions that eventually can influence their own organizational work and the political sphere at EU level. Pateman (1970) underlines the importance of equality when it comes to decision-making. Clearly, being part of the board gives a member some kind of priority where it is easier to emphasize your own concerns. The analysis suggests that positions out rule participation. Furthermore, required expertise in ad hoc groups creates some form of "elite participation" and moreover competition among national members leads to disparity.

The question that arises is: how can this kind of competition be avoided so that equal participation is possible?

## **6.2 Expressing your concerns at national and European level**

Every national member emphasized that on a national level they express their concerns to the board of their national member organization or to active members engaged in their organization. Concerns are then further discussed within the board to come to a decision. As the Documentation and Advisory Centre on Racial Discrimination (DRC) states,

*“I would express my concerns to the board members, the chair person and we would then hopefully be able to solve the problem together but I mean it is a small organization”* (Executive Director, Interview 11.02.13).

Each organization stayed within the formal rules as emphasized in the statement of DRC. The office for the implementation of equal treatment (BUG) in Germany, even with just one employee that is not paid, presented the official statutes and working plan for the organization, which underlines how seriously they follow the formal framework as well.

Expressing concerns to ENAR and therefore the European level takes place in three different manners. First, some national members express their concerns through formal structures, namely to the national platform in their respective country so that they can be channeled further to ENAR. Second, some members prefer to channel concerns directly to ENAR, for example via mail. Third, it was also mentioned that concerns are channeled through a contact person, a person that the national member knows and is in a closer relation to ENAR than the national member himself. The Pan-African Movement in Sweden said that concerns are directly expressed to the board or ENAR office. DRC and SOS against racism (SOS) in Denmark channel concerns to the national platform in Denmark and BUG in Germany prefers direct e-mail contact. In that sense, concerns are mostly expressed through direct mail or through the national platform. Despite ENAR’s structural change, this underlines the importance of the national platform for channeling information from the national to the European level.

A few members, like the Anti-Racist Intercultural Information Centre Berlin (Aric), stated that they do not channel any concerns to ENAR. Some members expressed that they see the new structure, where ENAR has direct contact to the national members, as an advantage.

*“I think I am going to be more active cause then I know I am going to be directly more involved than before”* (SOS’s Treasure, Interview 22.04.13).

The statement underlines how the possibility of direct involvement and expressing your concerns motivates national members to be more engaged at the EU level. However, others prefer to stick to the old model where concerns are expressed through the national platform. Essentially, national members express their concerns at national level to the board.

Communication within the formal arenas of ENAR at EU level is perceived differently. Three different perceptions could be identified. Firstly, the Pan-African Movement in Sweden pointed out that within the formal arenas everybody has the opportunity to communicate concerns or ideas, but that opportunities are used differently from different members. People taking more space within the arenas might express more concerns than people that do not take every opportunity to make their ideas heard. Secondly, DRC in Denmark stated that language barriers within ad hoc groups constitute difficulty for national members that are not as secure with the English language as others. In such a situation moderation is needed, but eventually, “more direct people will bring more of their concerns on the table” (DRC’s Executive Director, Interview 11.04.13). Thirdly, BUG in Germany highlighted that each formal meeting has an official agenda and that concerns can be best expressed for the topic of interest. However, BUG underlined that not all national members have the capacities to join such meetings.

*“People that join such activities are in the position and have the capacity to contribute to collective activities”* (BUG’s manager, Interview 15.04.13).

This statement touches upon the preconditions needed to be able to participate in certain activities within ENAR. If one does not have the capacity and knowledge, they will be less likely to join. This gives the floor to those already informed and those with sufficient resources the ability to participate in such activities. This finding

is in line with Fung's (2006) argument that the more wealthy and educated citizens will be the ones participating. The analysis stresses some kind of imbalance between national members; on one hand, elite members with a certain expertise and, on the other, members with less expertise about the EU sphere. This creates a form of "elite participation".

Deliberation is about national members being able to express their views within the formal arenas of ENAR to be able to take the opportunity to make their voices heard. Aric's manager in Germany was a former board member and answered when asked if it was difficult to make your voice heard:

*"It was not difficult"* (Interview, 15.04.13).

Also, DRC Denmark expressed that:

*"Yes, of course I can stand up for my concerns."* (Executive Director, 11.04.13)

Nevertheless, the analysis stresses that there is a risk that some national members are not able to express themselves as much as others because of language barriers like the executive director of DRC in Denmark expressed. He stated, after attending one of the ad hoc groups of ENAR:

*"...some of the people present at a meeting like those from Lithuania they will not be heard at all if you won't facilitate this"* (Interview 11.04.13).

The statement underlines the need to overcome, for example language barriers within ENAR activities, so that all national members are able to participate equally. Additionally, referring to BUG's statement above, some national members do not even attend such activities because they do not feel qualified. Mansbridge et al. (2010) stress that in an ideal situation deliberation should be accessible to all national members that are affected by the decisions of ENAR. It can be concluded that this ideal situation does not apply for ENAR since, clearly, not all national members affected by the decisions of ENAR are also included in the decision-making process, either in the board or ad hoc groups.

When it comes to more informal ways of communicating with ENAR, all national members emphasized that they are mostly in contact via email; the frequency ranged from being just in contact to become a member, to over once a month (which most of

the interviewees indicated), to weekly contact. National members in Sweden and Germany stated that ENAR was not always reachable and did not reply to specific requests. As Rosenberg (2007) states, national members should have equal chances to articulate their concerns; therefore, not reacting to members' requests represents inequality and leads to less deliberation from the national members. This section underlines that deliberation is not visible within ENAR at the European level and furthermore that within communication national members expressed three different perceptions, which are as that everybody has the opportunity to communicate concerns, that language barriers constitute difficulties to express concerns and that formal meetings always follow a formal agenda that allows to express concerns to specific topics.

### **6.3 Importance of the national platforms of ENAR**

As explained in section 5.1.3, ENAR has changed its structure where the so called national coordination of each country is not the official representative for all national members, but instead where members have direct contact to ENAR. The national coordination is converted to a national platform that gives members a chance to meet according to their needs to maintain work at national level.

The national platform is, despite the structural changes, still an important basis for the national members. It supports the networking and actions at national level. Most members enjoyed this convenient form of support and more indirect relation to ENAR. It was quite common that national members saw this kind of change as a hindrance for communication and participation in general. In the old system they found that being represented by another organization is disadvantageous. Also, some national members expressed that they did not feel any difference since the structural change should entail more direct participation, but they were hoping that the more the change process is implemented the higher direct contact will be. There were big expectations expressed towards the upcoming GA, where a new board will be elected.

Within the three different countries the national platforms were seen differently. In Germany the national members that have been engaged in ENAR for a longer time see the national platform as a basis that gives consistency to what is communicated

between the members. The national platform is important for relationships at the national level and knowing what kind of German organizations are engaged within ENAR. It also prevents, according to BUG's manager in Germany,

*"...that organizations that don't solely focus on anti-racist can channel their lobbying input through ENAR"* (Interview 15.04.13).

The national platform in Germany wants to maintain some kind of overview of the members engaged in ENAR. This national relationship is seen as one of ENAR's strengths according to BUG's manager in Germany and is perceived as very important. ISD in Germany however, is a new member of ENAR and does not share this view like the other German members interviewed. For ISD, the national platform is not relevant since they directly express their concerns to ENAR and do not understand the exact function of voicing concerns through the national platform. Generally, in Germany, national members that have been engaged more with ENAR see the national platform as relevant; wherein, new members cannot relate to the national platform in the same way and do not necessarily see any relevance. Two kinds of direction seem to be developing for the national platform; one for new members of ENAR that have direct contact and one for old members that want to maintain the old structure of the national platform.

In Denmark, members were more in agreement with each other concerning the relevance of the national platform, including new members of ENAR. The national members interviewed seemed very much in line with each other. DRC and Soteria in Denmark described ENAR Denmark as "one big happy family" (Interview, 11.04.13). The executive director from DRC underlined that the national platform is more important for the members in Denmark to support their work at national level. He states that,

*"we will continue locally no matter what"* (DRC, Interview 11.04.13).

This statement underlines that the local work stands in focus for DRC in Denmark; therefore the national platform is as an important basis for organizations in Denmark to combat discrimination and racism. SOS in Denmark however, expressed that they are looking forward to having more direct contact with ENAR beyond the national level. They are awaiting the time when they are not always waiting for ENAR

Denmark since this kind of process of channeling information is seen as long. SOS in Denmark sees an advantage in not having to include,

*“what other organizations in Denmark think”* (SOS’s Treasure, Interview 22.04.13).

Other than ISD in Germany (stated above), Soteria has a very good understanding of how the national platform in Denmark functions and seems to have established relationships to other organizations within the national platform. Soteria appreciates the support and sees the advantage of acting as a group. It is also important to emphasize that Soteria’s main interest is in the EU level to channel their interests to that political sphere and to carry out lobbying work to increase the visibility of their interests and concerns.

When interviewing the Swedish national members there seemed to be a lesser sense of belonging to the national platform like in Denmark or Germany. The English International Association of Lund (EIA) highlighted a strained relationship to the former national coordination and expressed that despite the structural change no transformation is visible at the national level. EIA welcomes the aspiration of ENAR to have more direct contact, as they do not feel adequately represented by the national platform in Sweden. The chairman of EIA expressed explicitly that:

*“There is no trickle down democracy within ENAR”* (Interview, 10.04.13).

That statement emphasizes that ENAR has a top-down approach where power is one level that rules over all the others and that control and limitations are also exercised nationally.

In Sweden not as many members were interviewed as in Germany and Denmark, but nevertheless it did not seem as though a common national platform existed by the way the members expressed themselves. The Pan-African Movement is, through its role as an ENAR board member, very representative, but no feeling of a “common Swedish national platform” could be sensed as it was in Denmark, for example. The board meetings for ENAR Denmark take place in different places so as to not always force members outside of Copenhagen recurrent travel. In Sweden however, EIA expressed the wish to have more ENAR presence in the south of Sweden. Overall, the different national platforms have contrasting roles in Sweden, Germany and Denmark

and are also perceived differently. The differing roles of the national platforms in different countries seem to have an impact on relationships and cooperation at the national level. Tension between single organizations can possibly influence participation at the European level. Also, work at the local level is often a priority for national members. Pateman (1970) highlights the importance of engagement at the local level of the national members since they can involve themselves without greater barriers and forward their concerns within their own community. According to the results of section 6.3, the local level is the platform where national members naturally express their concerns to other followers of the organization and where they engage the most, as it reflects their interests.

It can be summarized that being part of the board gives a member some kind of priority where it is easier to emphasize your own concerns. However, informal communication can, according to Steffek et al. (2010), foster informal power structures where particular members are preferred as a relationship is already established through formal participation. In many cases, the national members engaged in formal structures often showed higher informal participation as well. It can be concluded that, due to this, there exists some kind of imbalance where not every member is included equally. Pateman (1970) highlights that the internal structure of ENAR, which assesses formal engagement structures, decides over equal participation for national members. Also, required expertise in ad hoc groups creates some form of “elite participation” and moreover competition among national members leads to disparity. Furthermore, national members express their concerns either through formal structures, directly or indirectly. Within communication three different perceptions could be identified. First, that everybody has the opportunity to communicate concerns, second, that language barriers constitute difficulties to express concerns and third, that formal meetings always follow a formal agenda that allows expressing concerns to specific topics. Finally, the results showed that national members do not always feel represented by the respective national platform.

## **7. Deliberation**

Deliberation is crucial for national members being able to participate in different political activities of ENAR since national members are exposed to information and have the opportunity to develop own conclusions. It is a form of communication that supports individuals when offering their preferences, values and interests. Essentially it is the process of “reason giving” (Hall, 2007) and collective decision-making to guarantee equal participation.

### **7.1 Exchange of information**

Information exchange between the national members and ENAR is important to understand since overall participation should enhance a communication process; for example, the staff of ENAR acquires information from the national level to understand issues and interests of their national members, and vice versa for the EU level. According to Rosenberg (2007), a developed communication between ENAR and its national members is important so that national members can express their point of view and at the same time receive information that fosters further knowledge.

Any exchange of information was either single-sided or mutual. When it comes to ENAR channeling information to its national members they mainly received brochures and the weekly newsletters. Soteria’s communication director stated that “especially the newsletter” (Interview, 11.04.12) exposes them to new information. This information was highly appreciated from all respondents. SOS in Denmark stated that the information helped them to understand what other organizations are doing. When it comes to channeling information from the national to the European level BUG and ISD in Germany put forward information to ENAR. BUG, for example, gave input from the German national level concerning a directive on the EU level. ISD channeled information and press releases about their campaign in Germany. DRC in Denmark received information when attending one of the ad hoc

groups that they would otherwise not have received. At the same time, they underlined that they would like to share court decisions with ENAR, but that they do not have the resources to do so. This indicates that even if national members would like to channel information to ENAR it might be limited due to lack of resources. Other national members like Aric in Germany and SOS in Denmark did not channel information to ENAR. However, the English International Association of Lund sends ENAR their own newsletter and mentions ENAR in their radio programme, but underlined that they never receive responses about the information. It can be concluded that all of the interviewees receive and use information from ENAR.

When it comes to forwarding information that the national members receive from ENAR to their local members, the majority is not channeling any of ENAR's information further down to the citizens themselves.

*“Not all material from the EU level is relevant for all participating NGOs. These are often technical and legal things I do need for my daily work in the office”.*  
(BUG's manager, Interview 15.04.13)

The above statement shows that information from ENAR from the European level seems to be irrelevant for the national level. This decision may lay with the national members to forward information in, for example, their own newsletter. Individual members do not even get a chance to make an active choice or reflection about the information, as they do not receive it. Mainly, it was explained that information from ENAR from the EU level is not of any relevance for the individual members of the national members. Aric in Germany stated that it also has no relevance for the national level within their work. Essentially, channeling of information from the European sphere ends with the national member organization and does not reach the individual member, the citizens themselves. Steffek et al. (2010) state that the participation chains from the actual decision-making process to the individual member are too long. However, the analytical results of this thesis show that there exist no chain to the individual member but only to the national member organization. Overall, it can be concluded that a low relevance of EU issues for the national level, together with fragmented participation chains result in a lack of participation of the individual members.

A few organizations expressed that they do channel information from ENAR further to their members. The Pan-African Movement and EIA in Sweden as well as ISD in Germany channel information from ENAR to their members since developments at the European level are relevant for them.

Public knowledge about the European sphere is enhanced with deliberative actions that expose national members to facts that they would not have considered otherwise (Meyers, 2010). National members agreed that ENAR exposes them to information they may not have been exposed to, mostly through the weekly mail. BUG in Germany expressed that the information is very helpful. SOS in Denmark expressed that information about organizations in other countries was the most helpful for them.

## **7.2 Reasons for being engaged in an organization at the national level**

National members need passion to reach the object of their organization (Hall, 2007). Self-interest in the subject of anti-racist work was mostly expressed. In the traditional deliberative model, self-interest is seen as the opposite to deliberation; however, Mansbridge et al. (2010) argue that a present deliberation approach should include self-interest since it, “embraces the diversity of human objectives as well as the diversity of human opinions” (p.73) and is a way to identify yourself and emphasize diverse opinions. Along those lines the self-interests of national members fosters deliberation rather than limiting it.

There was interest from a more professional point of view, as was expressed from DRC in Denmark: “extremely interesting from a legal point of view and I am a lawyer that’s why” (Executive Director, Interview, 11.04.13). At the same time, there exists also more personal motivation like, for example, the Treasure from SOS that wants to combat racism and discrimination in Denmark in general and make people more aware about it. The passion seems to be higher within national members that belong to a minority group themselves. The chairman from EIA is engaged in the fight against racism all his life and underlines his engagement with the statement of:

*“that is my contribution to a better world”* (Interview, 10.04.13).

He is doing and fighting for what he believes in and shows a high level of passion. Furthermore, the advisory board member from ISD Germany expressed that she feels

represented, as ISD is dealing with topics that concern her and that she can identify herself with. By being part of ISD she has the possibility to engage and express herself. The spokesperson from the Pan-African Movement in Sweden emphasized that by being engaged he wants to initiate change and contribute to the improvement of the situation of Europeans of African descent. The majority of the national members interviewed showed a high level of passion for the work they perform within their organization. Mansbridge et al. (2010) explain this greater motivation with the statement that, “those who knows their interest best, namely (in general) whose interest they are...” (p.72). They also highlight, that within the political sphere decisions are not just made for the common good, but also upon self-interest. EIA and the Pan-African Movement in Sweden as well as ISD in Germany and SOS, DRC and Soteria in Denmark showed the most passion for their engagement and believe in their work as a chance to make a change. According to Hall (2007) motivation is driven by passion of the single individual and leads eventually to deliberation. Therefore higher passion should lead to more deliberation and therefore participation. Also, Hall (2007) states that having passion shows commitment that is by no means irrational and along those lines it is argued that “passion requires a mental vision of the good “ and is therefore “inherently rational” (p. 87). This highlights the need to involve passionate actions in the deliberation process within the political sphere.

The level of formal and informal participation within ENAR differs between those six individuals of the national members identified as being very passionate. Not all of them show a high level of participation within ENAR, but showed however, a high level of participation within their national organizations. Nevertheless, the interviewee identified with the greatest participation was also identified as being very passionate about his engagement and, therefore, it can be concluded that there might be a correlation between passion, deliberation and eventually participation.

### **7.3 Deliberative versus Non-deliberative methods**

Harmonized deliberative methods are, as described in section 3.1.2, weighing choices before making them by using reasoning. Reasoning used needs to be treated equally when applying them in the decision-making process. However, non-deliberative

methods are bargaining, voting and negotiating where self-interest stands in the foreground (Mansbridge, et al. 2010). Mansbridge et. al. (2010) emphasize their idea of deliberation where negotiation, voting and forms of self-interest, when used, are seen as deliberative. So, the analytical result depends on which approach is used; this section makes use of the traditional approach.

Decision-making methods within the national member organizations were both deliberative and non-deliberative. As mentioned in section 6.4, concerns are expressed to the board and within the board or even group meetings most of the members have indicated that concerns are expressed, then discussed and finally, a decision will be made, often through voting. Aric in Germany expressed that they negotiate within the board and discussions can occur. ISD in Germany expressed that

*“Normally it will be discussed. Everybody can express his opinion and finally you reach a consensus”* (Advisory board, Interview 16.04.13).

Non-deliberative methods were more common among the interviewees to come to a decision, like discussion and voting. Some national members however, expressed more deliberative forms for taking decisions at national level where reasoning was used. BUG in Germany weighs facts or reasoning when it comes to decisions about what case to represent, which is a pure deliberative form of decision-making. The EIA in Sweden emphasized that generally content-wise active members are on the same page and all of them are well informed about anti-racism work. Therefore, a process like voting is seldom necessary since they reach a consensus inherently. This underlines the deliberative nature of this process where, according to Mansbridge et al. (2010), ideal deliberation aims for consensus and excludes negotiation. Also, Soteria in Denmark underlined the openness when negotiating, which is a non-deliberative form, and indicated that decision-making is more informal within Soteria since they trust each other.

*“...we are not paid to do the job we have people that invest their own heart and finance”* (Soteria’s Director of Communication, Interview 11.04.13). Soteria in Denmark also highlighted that working voluntarily influences the decision-making.

*“It brings freedom, in a way you can trust people more because they are there because they really want to”* (Soteria’s Director of Communication, Interview 11.04.13).

Other members shared that opinion too and therefore, it can be concluded that voluntary work leads to more freedom. Eventually this leads to more deliberation in the decision-making process within national organizations where voting and negotiation is not needed since a consensus can be reached naturally.

Within the national platform, methods are similar starting from the description from DRC and SOS in Denmark. DRC emphasized that formal voting exists, but that most of the time all the members agree on topics addressed since it exists a mutual understanding because of a common interest, which is emphasized by the statement that

*“our situation is so desperate it would be foolish to fight amongst each other”* (DRC’s Executive Director, Interview, 11.04.13).

As a consequence, non-deliberative methods are used within the national platform when coming to a decision like, for example voting. Nevertheless, members of the Danish national platform seem to have an organic decision-making process that is inclusive since everybody is engaged, yet not fully deliberative since non-deliberative forms like voting are used. SOS in Denmark concludes by stating that:

*“we try to be flexible as long as we have a common goal”* (Treasure, Interview 22.04.13).

Within ENAR itself, discussions are used where eventually certain topics will be voted on. The spokesperson of the Pan-African movement in Sweden and current member of the board expressed that within ENAR,

*“If we come to the meeting we don’t just vote for it, we have discussions”* (Interview, 17.04.13).

Different decision-making patterns could be determined. At the European level non-deliberative methods like, discussion, negotiation and voting was pointed out. At the national level the same patterns were identified but with the differences that instead of voting it is more common for national members to reach a consensus inherently and working voluntarily was highlighted as an important element that

leads to more freedom in the decision-making. The analysis stresses, that there exists no deliberation within ENAR at the European level when it comes to decision-making process. It can be determined that there exists a difference between the European and national levels. National members make use of non-deliberative methods like voting and discussing, but allow deliberative notions, which could be explained with a common understanding of their engagement.

It can be summarized that channeling of information from the European sphere ends with the national member organization and does not reach the individual member, the citizens themselves. Finally, in relation to the reason for being engaged it can be concluded that there might be a correlation between passion, deliberation and eventually participation.

## **8. Empowerment**

Through empowerment members are enabled to voice their concerns. It includes education, funding but also technical assistance. This chapter illustrates that resources play a key role within participation of national members and points out the challenges national members face.

### **8.1 Importance of Resources**

The majority of national members expressed that information and finances are the main resources needed for their work. BUG in Germany uses information coming from the ENAR office (i.e. via the newsletter) in its activities and undertakings. However, for the work on national level other resources are used; for example BUG consults associates that have expertise in migration. Also, the EIA in Sweden stated that information from ENAR is an important resource for them. Meyers (2010) stresses the importance of information sharing so that national members have access to new facts that are, according to Fung (2003), beneficial for the member organizations themselves. Fung (2003) also highlights the importance of empowering national members with political skills to enlighten a critical view. National members expressed the appreciation of the weekly news mail and it was common that topics

were seen as relevant and interesting; however, it was less common that national members gained political skills through it. BUG in Germany expressed explicitly that,

*“the weekly mail is more about what other NGOs do, I would appreciate a regularly update about what happens in the EU parliament at policy level”* (Manager, Interview 15.04.13).

The above statement indicates a lack of information concerning political facts. This analysis suggests that members receive information on a regular basis, but that this information does not always lead to empowerment. National members obtain fewer political skills and therefore cannot develop a critical view that can contribute to democracy within the EU (Fung, 2003).

Overall, money was the main resource pointed out as important to the national members. All national members interviewed highlighted a lack of funding, like for example ISD in Germany.

*“We are underfunded”* (Advisory Board, Interview 16.04.13).

Having no funding or not enough funding constituted a problem for all national members interviewed. ENAR cannot assess national members with direct funding, but members get reimbursements for travel and accommodation when participating in ENAR activities. This is an empowering action to create preconditions for participation. On the other hand, a few interviewees highlighted that the administrative process of reimbursement is time consuming when already having limited time resources:

*“...for me personally there is a lot of administrative work involved”* (Spokesman, Pan-African Movement, Interview 17.04.13).

A further form of empowerment is, for example, technical assistance; ENAR was engaged in the promotion of a campaign for ISD in Germany, which can be seen as a form of technical assistance to increase the visibility of national members at the European level. Through such support, national members have the chance to act within the European political arena, suggesting that it leads to more participation (Fung, 2003).

Moreover, EIA stressed that they would need a contact person within ENAR that solely focuses on the needs of members.

*“The most important need of member organizations of ENAR are ENAR contact people who can really focus on us and our needs”* (Chairman, Interview 10.04.13).

The analysis suggests that other than financial and information resources, national members are in need of a contact person at the Brussels office that deals just with national members. The Brussels office has staff members dealing with membership issues (ENAR, 2013), but it is suggested that this kind of service is not sufficient enough to fulfill the needs of the national members.

Hence, funding, information and contact persons at ENAR who focusing more on the needs of the members is important to the national members interviewed. There exists another important need that is illustrated by a few national members; ISD in Germany implied that they want to be more visible and actually participate in the political sphere. Within this framework the Pan-African Movement in Sweden stated that they are in need of a political forum in Sweden to recognize Europeans of African descent as part of society. It was expressed that ENAR is seen as a support for being more visible at European level, but it was not indicated that ENAR could be of help to establish a political forum in, for example, Sweden. The analysis suggests that ENAR plays a less important role when it comes to satisfying the needs of the national members. National members have to find their own solutions for satisfying their organizational requirements, which leads to less empowerment and less participation.

## **8.2 How resources influence the work of the national members**

When asking the national members what they would change if they would have access to more resources, the overall answer was that they would invest resources in the structure of their organization. They would hire an employee that can work fulltime with organizational issues so that the organization can be more effective and more visible. ISD in Germany stated that,

*“It would be great if we would have structural funding that would make it easier, because most of the people work and do everything in their free time”* (Advisory Board, Interview 16.04.13).

Soteria in Denmark would use such resources to engage more people to be present at different places at the same time. SOS in Denmark would,

*“go out in Europe and see what is happening there”* (Treasure, Interview, 22.04.13).

The above statement indicates that more resources would be used to operate on a European level. DRC in Denmark however, underlined that they would invest all additional resources at the local level and not enlarge their engagement with ENAR.

This leads to the assumption that national members would invest extra funding in structural changes, but that there are differences when it comes to investing money for extended engagement at the national or European level. It was more common that they wanted to invest extra resources at the national level.

### **8.3 Possible participation when being engaged voluntarily**

All national members interviewed, except of Aric in Germany that employs two staff members at 15 hours per week, work for the most part voluntarily. It was more common that the interviewees had employment in addition to their engagement within the organization. This leads to the question of how much participation is possible when having financial and time limitations? The aim of the study is to *analyze how national members of European CSOs participate and are deliberated*. With respect to the aim of the study, the analysis stresses that being engaged voluntarily is one of the main factors that influence the participation of the national members. When being involved voluntarily at national level, besides fulltime employment, within a European CSO cannot be anything else then limited.

Along those lines, ISD in Germany highlighted that requests from ENAR’s side cannot be answered due to time limitations (section 6.1), which supports the conclusion that limited resources are linked to a limited participation. BUG in Germany stated that they answer all requests and see themselves as active, which is due to the fact that BUG has the possibility, although working voluntarily, to spend at

least four days a week in the office. That is reflected in Fung's (2003) assumption that wealthier citizens are more likely to participate in CSOs.

Rousseau (1986) emphasizes that certain economic preconditions need to exist to be able to participate. That approach is applicable on the situation of the national members interviewed. It can be concluded that members having more resources are able to engage themselves more and eventually participate more. The active participant can be identified as one who is in a good economic state and educated within the political field that participation is taking place in, like for example BUG in Germany and DRC in Denmark. Both organizations are working within the field of legal counsel and have adequate education or previous experience through previous jobs, as for example the manager of BUG, which was ENAR's previous director. Both showed a high level of understanding of the European political sphere.

It was less common, nevertheless occurred, that national members had a high level of participation despite having less resources and being in employment. It was explained that such an engagement, despite the lack of resources, has costs, like for example having less time for your family. It was underlined that it is hard work to be engaged so actively, which is highlighted with the following statement:

*"I feel like soon I will just hit the wall".*

That statement shows very concrete the consequences of a high engagement in addition to fulltime employment. Individual citizens have to sacrifice their private time to such an extent that it has consequences for their personal life. The high engagement despite a lack of resources is related to a high level of personal interest, motivation and passion for the work conducted. The high passion of the national members and investment of their private time on top of everyday employment is different to the work done at the ENAR office in Brussels. Here staff members are officially hired and office space is available. The work on the European and on the national level differs a lot just when referring to available resources.

Furthermore, striving to initiate change when representing a minority group you identify yourself with, is suggested to be an indicator for being motivated and active engagement. The Pan-African Movement and EIA in Sweden and ISD in Germany

want to change the situation for Europeans of African descent or migrants in general and all of them showed a high level of passion.

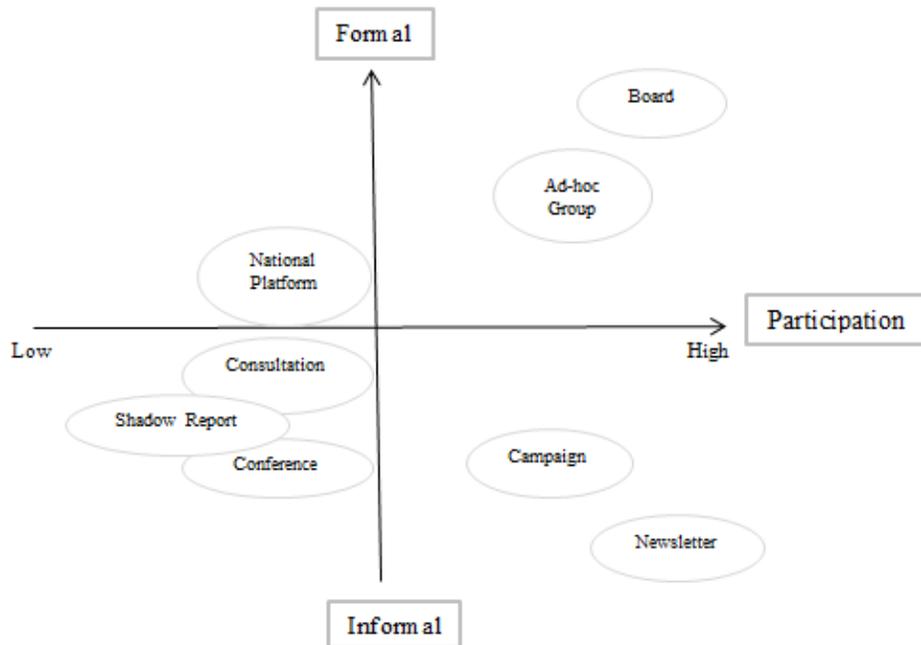
It can be summarized that information and finances are the main resources needed for the work of national members. Limited funding constitutes a major problem for national members. Also, the need of a political forum to be recognized is an important factor. National members would invest extra funding in structural changes to be more effective. The active participant can be identified as one who is in a good economic state and educated within the political field that participation is taking place in. It can be concluded that members having more resources are able to engage themselves more and eventually participate more. Being engaged voluntarily is one of the main factors that influence the participation of the national members. Furthermore, representing a minority group you identify yourself with, is suggested to be an indicator for being motivated and actively engaged.

## **9. Conclusion**

The following section summarizes the results from the analysis and holistically answers the research question with help of the findings. Participation, deliberation and empowerment of the national members of ENAR in detail and CSOs in general will be discussed. In the final remarks the contribution of this thesis will be highlighted and limitations and possible future research will be presented.

The study explores the participation of national members of European CSOs and focuses on ENAR in order to gain particular insights about the participation of their national members. Figure 2 below summarizes the arenas of participation giving an overview of the range of formal and informal activities and their link to participation. The most relevant arenas to the study are discussed in the section below.

Figure 2: Arenas of participation



Source: Author's design

Relating back to the theoretical discussion about participation, Pateman (1970) illustrates that the core idea of the Participatory Model contains a requirement of maximum participation where the output includes not only policies but also a development of the political capacities of the national members.

The analytical results show that formal participation gives priority to national members in the board to emphasize their concerns. If a national member is not part of the board, there are fewer possibilities first to, influence direct decisions and second to, use this kind of formal participation to induce other activities that could be feasible for their national organization, self-interest and the European political sphere in general. Along those lines, Pateman (1970) continues by claiming that the requirement of a maximum participation is not met because the number of board members is limited and therefore no equal and maximum participation can be reached. Not everybody can be a member of the board, which asks the question of how this kind of inequity can be balanced. The empirical data gave no solution to this question, but a holistic approach would be to offer forms of participation equally so

that informal activities are available for everybody whether in the board or not. Also, having adequate time and money resources and expertise play a crucial role when candidating for the board, this leads to the conclusion that resources influence participation in the board.

A further analytical point is that participation in an ad hoc group is based upon request from ENAR's office in Brussels. This illustrates that equal participation is neglected through such a pre-selection and that the overall participation is influenced by this process. Selections are made based on the expertise national members need to have an optimal outcome for the working groups, which favours ENAR's work at the EU level. Coming back to Pateman (1970), engagement in ad hoc groups is not meeting the requirements since pre-selecting participants can rather be interpreted as limited participation than equal and maximum participation. Therefore, preferences jeopardize equality within participation and lead to imbalance.

However, another way of participating that appears less selective is to campaign together with ENAR to give national members the chance to channel their national activities into the European sphere. The results show a common pattern where no national member wanting to merge with ENAR for a campaign has been excluded. It can be highlighted as strength when reflecting on participation and leads to a maximum input required for a functioning Participatory Model (Pateman, 1970).

In addition to unequal participation, the results, to a lesser but still significant extent, reveal internal competition among national members concerning the writing of the national "Shadow report" for ENAR. This finding leads to the question of how to avoid this kind of competition in order to have equal participation between the national members, as it leads to disparity. A solution could be that ENAR uses deliberating methods, such as for example reasoning, when making decisions because that leads to more equality.

The analysis concludes that national members who are actively engaged in the board or ad hoc groups show a higher level of participation. Consequently more formal participation leads to a higher level of participation in general. Again referring to Pateman (1970), one could argue that maximum participation is reached by the national members that are part of the board or an ad hoc group, meaning they could

be seen as an exclusive group of national members that give maximal input. Nevertheless, the core idea is to include all national members equally. Warren (1996) however, stresses that society is too comprehensive and citizens are not equipped enough to “self-govern” within a public sphere such as the arenas of a CSOs. This is in agreement with the results stated above where the selection for ad hoc groups is made according to the appropriate knowledge of national members. Participation in this sense is “elite driven” and therefore endorses Warren’s argument.

The study has also sought out to know to what extent are the activities that national members are experiencing living up to a deliberative standard. Halls (2007) theoretical discussion about deliberation highlights that essentially, it is about *having a dialogue about what to do when using reasoning*.

The analysis shows that every national member has the opportunity to express concerns within ENAR arenas, but that this opportunity is used differently among them. A more assertive person, for example, is more likely to express concerns, leading to less deliberation for national members. This idea is underlined by Rosenberg (2007) who states that deliberation emphasizes openness to a “wide range of evidence” and “different views” (p. 102). These criteria emphasized by Rosenberg (2007) cannot be met if assertive people have an advantage and no methods exist to include the views of all national members within ENAR arenas. Preconditions have to be met to participate in certain ENAR activities. Members with less capacities and knowledge are less likely to take part in those activities, which leads to the potential creation of an “elite participation” and a low level of deliberation.

When it comes to exchange of information, the newsletter is very important for national members but there is a lack of information concerning political facts, which leads to less empowerment of national members. They obtain fewer political skills and therefore cannot strengthen their critical view. As stated above, Pateman (1970) requires the development of political capacities of the national members but the results show that such a development is limited. Nevertheless, national members are exposed to information they would otherwise not be aware of through the newsletter and therefore experience a form of deliberation as Meyers (2010) suggests it. There is a common pattern concerning information channeling from the EU level to individual

members of the local level. Information from ENAR's newsletter is most likely not forwarded from the national members. The choice to forward it or not is made by the national members, which ultimately means that the individual members do not have access to the information. This lack of opportunity shows a low level of deliberation for the actual citizens concerned, which is again highlighting the unmet criteria of developing critical capacities provided by Patemen (1970). Essentially, the results show that the channeling of information from the European sphere often ends with the national member organization, and does not reach the individual member, the citizens themselves. There is no participation chain from the European to the local level. A further analytical point within deliberation is that national members have passion for their work performed. The theoretical discussion highlights that according to Hall (2007) passion in relation to self-interest fosters deliberation. For national members to achieve certain objects, passion is needed because it leads to more "commitment and solidarity" (p. 83). The analysis highlights that national members have passion for their work performed. The findings illustrate that passion was even higher when national members belong to a minority group themselves. The results show that Hall's theoretical approach is highly relevant when studying deliberation and participation. The high commitment of the national members is the reason for their participation in spite of barriers. In conclusion, there might be a correlation between passion, deliberation and eventually participation. The analysis could also determine different decision-making patterns. At the European level non-deliberative methods such as, discussion, negotiation and voting were highlighted. At the national level the same patterns were identified but with the difference that instead of voting it is more common for national members to reach a consensus organically. The essence of deliberation, as *having a dialogue about what to do when using reasoning* as emphasized by Hall (2007) could not be found on neither the national, nor the European level. More deliberative notions could be uncovered on the national level but no pure deliberative methods in line with the theoretical stance were used.

Furthermore, the thesis has explored how CSOs empower their national members in order for them to act within a political arena and voice their concerns. When returning to Fung's (2006) theoretical discussion, it is illustrated that wealth and

education qualify national members to participate. To foster inclusion, Fung (2003) highlights that CSOs need to teach their national members skills so that they can participate in the political life. The analytical reasoning within the framework of empowerment is that information and financing are the main resources needed. In addition to the need to channel information, national members are also in need of money. The analytical results have shown that ENAR cannot provide any financial help except for expenses when participating in an ENAR activity. Technical assistance can be carried out when applying for project funding, but it was explicitly indicated that national members would need structural funding to be more effective and visible within the political sphere. ENAR can therefore empower their members only to some extent, since they cannot offer direct financial help. Nevertheless, ENAR provides their members with information, even if this information sometimes lacks political facts, which means that they empower their members by equipping them with information for the most part. The need for resources makes clear that wealth leads to participation (Fung, 2006), therefore it can be concluded that if national members would have adequate resources their participation would possibly increase.

Finally, the thesis was sought out to discover barriers relating to the participation of national members of European CSOs. The analysis uncovers the language barrier, while being engaged in formal activities of ENAR but also when channeling information from ENAR to individual members of the national members as there are no resources to translate such information. Another finding is that a lack of knowledge about the European sphere, for example specific directives, decreases the participation of national members. Along those lines, personal conditions, for example a law education, can lead to a higher understanding of the European sphere and allow for a possibility of participation within ENAR, which supports the theoretical approach by Fung (2006) that education leads to participation.

One of the key findings when it comes to barriers is the voluntarily instead of professional engagement of national members. National members who participate in their free time in addition to employment face time and financial limitations. This result leads to the conclusion that being engaged voluntarily leads to limited

participation since time wise there is no possibility to be fully engaged, although this result cannot be framed specifically within any of the theories discussed in chapter three, but it can most likely be related to Fung's (2006) approach to wealth leading to participation. If national members would have adequate resources they could dedicate more time to their voluntarily engagement or turn their voluntary commitment into employment through, for example, funding, and could therefore participate more.

## **9.1 Final remarks**

Academia puts high demands on CSOs. The image scholars draw of the Participatory Model, seems aspiring but perhaps idealistic. "Maximal participation" as well as providing all national members with "political skills" and putting forward a "critical view" seems hard, for CSOs such as ENAR, to fulfill. The analytical results concerning participation cannot live up to the theoretical standards such as Pateman's (1970) Participatory Model, but rather to those by Warren (1996). He describes participation as a "romantic dogma" (p.36) because society is too comprehensive and citizens not well equipped for the public sphere. The results show that ENAR is not in a position to provide "unequipped national members" with the "political skills" that would lead to "equal and maximum participation". ENAR's solution seems to be a focus more on "elite participation" in order to sustain their organization, which conflicts with the theoretical standards of equality and inclusion (Fung, 2006).

Moreover, the theoretical approach of deliberation is too idealistic to be implemented in the day-to day business of the national members and ENAR in Brussels. Nevertheless, national members have shown in comparison to the European level that they use more deliberative notions when reaching decisions. This seems to be in relation to their voluntarily engagement as it leads to more freedom. However according to the results, the theoretical expectations of how passion fosters deliberation were fulfilled. Also Fung's (2006) theoretical underpinnings of wealth and education leading to participation have been made clear in the analysis.

Case studies allow, according to Siggelkow (2007), to refine existing theories while demonstrating certain gaps. It is concluded that the Participatory Model developed by academia reveals a gap between theoretical aspiration and practical

implementation. The Participatory Model describes the image of CSOs in a very normative way but not much is said about the capacities of CSOs in practice nor about the possibilities to meet this ideal standard academia sets. However, when it comes to the theoretical models of deliberation and empowerment, thus are more applicable, according to the results of this study. Broadening the scope, the introduction raised the question of how effective the model of Participatory Democracy is and how CSOs can function as transmission belts in a European political sphere. The analysis and above discussion suggest that when focusing on including citizens more into the EU, the model is less effective than the theoretical image emphasizes. CSOs functioning as a transmission belt according to Steffek et al. (2010) cannot be endorsed according to the analytical findings of this study. Not all concerns of national members are channeled to the European sphere and not all information concerning the EU arena reach the national or even local level. The EC should not just focus on the CSOs, seen as the transmission belt, but also on the citizens themselves by taking various actions to increase their participation within the CSOs. This will eventually lead to further inclusion at the EU level in general.

Further research on that topic could investigate the question of participation in relation to the EC through a qualitative research that would include solutions on how the EC could influence the participation of the national members of CSOs more. Along those lines, the greater scope of the political decision-making process could be explored by investigating how CSOs influence the process and in what steps of the political decision-making process CSOs intervene and contribute. In addition, future research on the question of participation of national members could collect a larger amount of empirical data, for example, all the national members of ENAR so that findings can be generalized. Furthermore, with a bigger sample results can be representative and therefore more appropriate to draw conclusions. Moreover, conducting the same research again after six months to see whether the structural change of ENAR reaped its fruits and whether national members are more directly included. A further step would be to conduct a study with several European CSOs and compare the results allowing the clear patterns of participation as well as the indicators influencing it to become apparent and visible.

## **Executive Summary**

The EU is interested in engaging its citizens due to a growing questioning into its democratic legitimacy. The reason for this so called “legitimacy crisis” (Kohler-Koch, 2012) is that the policy-making within the EU is considered to be “distant and non-transparent” (p. 158, Kröger and Friedrich, 2013). The civil society was deemed the “beacon of hope” (Kohler-Koch, 2012) for the EU to improve their image, but also to create more effective policy-making (Smismans, 2008).

Specifically, citizens have the possibility to integrate themselves through CSOs in the EU sphere. The question arises as to how this kind of involvement of CSOs is carried out in practice? Under the theoretical framework of Participatory Democracy, CSOs influence the European decision-making process and, at the same time, involve citizens in their activities since they are seen as the bottom-up channel from the grass roots level; therefore are in some way responsible for fostering the participation of citizens from the national and local levels (Lindgren and Persson, 2011). Ideally, national members of CSOs feed into the political discussion at the European level through an active participation within their organization.

Generally, European CSOs influence the political agenda by following and monitoring policy developments, campaigning and lobbying, as well as having meetings with key EU officials and political representatives (ENAR, 2013). In theory, the members of European CSOs should feed into the political process of the EU. Practically, it is indistinct what the participation of the national members of the European CSOs looks like. Consequently, this study aims to analyze how national members of European CSOs participate and are deliberated.

In order to draw conclusions based on theoretical concepts, analytical framework had to be used. Participation Theory of Democracy, Deliberation Theory and empowerment were discussed in order to implement an in depth analysis that explores participation of the national members of European CSOs. Using these theoretical concepts, the analytical formwork was divided into three concepts with respective key indicators that served as the departure for the analysis.

The research aim was investigated by using a qualitative approach where document analysis and semi-structured interviews were used to explore the participation of eight national members in Germany, Denmark and Sweden.

The findings of the study suggest that participation within CSOs, through the example of the European Network Against Racism, is favoured when being engaged in formal activities that then lead to more informal engagement as well. If wanting to influence the decision-making of a CSO being part of the board is one of the most effective ways. Other than that, activities like ad hoc groups lead to influence as well. The following facts point out some details of the findings:

- Participation in an ad hoc group is based on request from ENAR's office in Brussels. This illustrates that equal participation is neglected through such a pre-selection and that the overall participation is influenced by this process. Selections are made upon expertise national members have to have for an optimal outcome of the working groups, which favours ENAR's work at the EU level as well but selection also jeopardizes the equality within participation and leads to imbalance.
- Another way of participating that appears less selective is to a campaign together with ENAR to give national members the chance to channel their national activities into the European sphere. The results show that there was no exclusion for any national member wanting to merge with ENAR for a campaign, which could be highlighted as a strength when reflecting on participation but not enough to change the previous findings about unequal participation.
- The results also imply that the national platform plays an important role for the national members for communicating, but not all of them feel represented by their respective national platform. This leads to different preconditions for eventually participating in activities.
- The analytical results within the framework of deliberation show that every national member has the opportunity to express concerns within ENAR arenas, but that it is used differently among them. A more assertive person, for example, has a higher chance to express concerns, which is normally not deliberative. Preconditions have to be met to participate in certain ENAR activities. Members with less capacities

and knowledge are less likely to join those activities, which leads to the creation of a possible elite participation and a low level of deliberation.

- When it comes to exchange of information, the newsletter is very important for national members but there is a lack of information concerning political facts, which leads to less empowerment. Nevertheless, national members are exposed to information they would otherwise not be aware of through the newsletter and therefore, experience a form of deliberation. There was a common pattern concerning information channeling from the EU level to individual members of the on the local level. Information from ENAR's newsletter was most likely not forwarded from the national members. The choice to forward it or not is made by the national members, which ultimately means that the individual members do not have access to the information. Essentially, channeling of information from the European sphere ends with the national member organization and does not reach the individual members, the citizens themselves. That shows a low level of deliberation for the actual citizen concerned.

- National members show a high level of passion for the work they perform. This kind of passion in relation to self-interest fosters deliberation. The analysis illustrates that passion was even higher when national members belong to a minority group themselves. In conclusion, there might be possible a correlation between passion, deliberation and eventually participation. It is further illustrated that national members use mostly non-deliberating methods to come to a decision, but that some deliberative acting could be determined. Within ENAR, only non-deliberating methods are used when making a decision, which indicates that in general non-deliberating decision-making is more common on the European as well as national level. The analytical findings showed that voluntarily work leads to more freedom and eventually more deliberation.

- Information and finances are the main resources needed. In addition to the need to channel information, national members are also in need of money. The analytical results show that ENAR cannot provide any financial help except for expenses when participating in an ENAR activity. Technical assistance can be carried out when

applying for project funding, but it was explicitly indicated that national members would need structural funding to be more effective and visible.

Also, the analysis illustrates that members are divided between those that would invest to operate more on the EU level and those that would invest to operate more on national level. No clear trend emerged.

- The analysis uncovers a language barrier that exists. When being engaged in formal activities of ENAR but also when channeling information from ENAR to members of the national members since there are no resources to translate such information. Another finding is how a lack of understanding of the European sphere, for example specific directives, decreases the participation of national members. Along those lines, personal conditions, for example, a law education can lead to a higher understanding of the European sphere.
- One of the key findings of the analysis when it comes to barriers is being engaged voluntarily instead of professionally. Engaging yourself in your free time in addition to employment adds time limits to participation, but also limitations when it comes to financial resources. This result leads to the conclusion that being engaged voluntarily leads to less participation or a limited participation since purely time wise there is no possibility to be fully engaged even if desired.

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## Appendix A – Analytical Criteria

### Criteria Participation:

Guarding the private interest of citizens	Citizens self- expression with the organization
Feeling of belonging to their community	Members participate (equally) in the d- m of the CSO
Participation at local level	Embrace features of gaining practice in democratic procedures
Citizens satisfy their needs	Participation brings empowerment with it

### Criteria Deliberation:

Internal discussions what to do, using reasons	Communication where members can express their views
Consensus	Information sharing, exposing members to facts, opinions and perspective
Weighing choices before making them	Freedom to express your own view
Collective decisions	Self-interest
Passion of the member, willingness to obtain their subject	Opportunity for members to develop their own conclusion through discussion, brain-storming, information-pooling, planning and problem solving
How members exchange information	Who participates

### Criteria Empowerment:

Enable members to voice their concerns	Access to appropriate resources
Travel grants	Capacity Building
Task definition: nature and scope of the members task should be clarified	Educating the members

## Appendix B - Description of national members

Table 3: Sweden

	<b>The English International Association of Lund</b>	<b>Pan African Movement</b>
<b>Key Features</b>	Work on topic that focuses on immigrants living in Sweden	Recognizing black people around the world and combating racism and discrimination
<b>Members</b>	Yes, 65-70 members that have to pay a membership fee	Engagement not bound to a formal membership
<b>Engagement</b>	Voluntarily	Voluntarily

Source: Official websites of selected organizations and conducted Interviews

Table 4: Denmark

	<b>Dokumentations- og rådgivningscenteret om rasediskrimination Documentation and The documentation-and advisory Center on Racial Discrimination</b>	<b>Soteria International</b>	<b>SOS mod Racisme SOS against Racism</b>
<b>Key Features</b>	Documentation and consultation on racial discrimination	Counteract the growing governmental and institutional intolerance towards spiritual organizations and spiritual practice	Information work, publishing magazines, awareness raising
<b>Members</b>	No, it is a foundation	Yes, around 100 members that have to pay a membership fee	Yes, around 200 members that have to pay a membership fee
<b>Engagement</b>	Mostly Voluntarily	Mostly Voluntarily	Voluntarily

Source: Official websites of selected organizations and conducted Interviews

Table 5: Germany

	<b>Büro zur Umsetzung von Gleichbehandlung e.V. Office for the implementation of equal treatment</b>	<b>Initiative Schwarzer Menschen e.V. Initiative Black People</b>	<b>Antirassistisch-Interkulturelles Informationszentrum Berlin e.V. Anti-Racist Intercultural Information Centre Berlin</b>
<b>Key Features</b>	Supports relevant actions against discrimination to set precedents and therefore increase the legal certainty in the anti-discrimination field	Association for people with African descent in Germany to i.a. combat racism and racial profiling	Information work in the field of anti-racism
<b>Members</b>	Yes, 80 members and no membership fee	Yes, members have to pay a membership fee	Yes, 10 members and no membership fee
<b>Engagement</b>	Voluntarily	Voluntarily	2 employees with 15h/week

Source: Official websites of selected organizations and conducted Interviews

## **Appendix C - Interview Guidelines for Interviews with ENAR and the national members**

### **Interview with national members:**

#### **Theme 1: Warm up/Org. information/ Interest /belonging/identity**

Q1. Please tell me for what organization are you working for/engaged in?

1.1 How long have you been engaged in this organization?

1.2 What is your position in your organization?

1.3 Does your organization have members?

1.3.1 How many? Who are they?

Q2. Why are you engaged in your organization?

2.1 What is your motivation?

Q3. How long has your organization been a member of ENAR?

3.1 Why did you become engaged in ENAR/ a member of ENAR?

Q4. Can you describe in what way your own interests are reflected/represented through the work of ENAR?

Q5. How do you express your concerns within your organization?

5.1 When being in touch with ENAR (the organization).

Q6. What are your organizational needs? (nat. CSOs)

6.1 How do you satisfy them?

6.1.2 What role does ENAR play?

## **Theme 2: Participation**

Q7. Could you please describe how ENAR is organized at EU-level?

7.1 Have there been any reason changes within ENAR?

Q8. What venues/arenas/activities do you participate in the ENAR?

8.1 Have you a participated in any strategically groups?

8.1.1 Do you want to participate in any strategically group?

8.1.2 How?

8.2 Since when do you participate in the ... (GA, Board, NP)?

8.3 Do you consider yourself engaged in the debate within these forums (GA, Board, NP)?

8.3.1 Do you raise your voice in these forums? Is it difficult to get heard?

8.3.2 Have there been any particular issues that you have raised?

8.4 How would you describe your engagement as a member?

8.4.1 How is your experience of the engagement of the other members?

8.5 Has your participation changed over time?

Q9. Did you experience any contact/meeting with an EU official?

## **Theme 3: Methods to come to a decision**

Q 10. How do reach decisions within your network/ENAR?

10.1 How are decisions reached within different arenas? For example within the Board, GA,NP? What is your experience? (differentiate between national/European level)

10.1.1 How do you come to a decision within the ....., or when deciding over a policy paper, fact sheet

10.1.2 Do you vote, negotiate or try to balance different options?

10.2 Do you use the same methods within ENAR GER/DK/SE your organization?

10.2.1 How do you discuss internally?

#### **Theme 4: Information Sharing**

Q12. How do you and ENAR share information?

12.1 What kind of information do you share?

12.1.1 Does ENAR expose you to information you might otherwise not be aware of?

12.2 How often are you in contact with ENAR?

Q13. Do you share information that you get from ENAR with your members?

13.1 What kind of information?

13.2. How is that done?

#### **Theme 5: Capacity/Resources/Barriers**

Q14. What kind of resources do you use when participating in EU based activities/national activities?

14.1 How do you obtain those resources?

14.1.1 From whom?

14.2 How could resources motivate you to participate (more)?

14.2.1 What else would motivate you to participate more?

#### **Theme 6: Relations/Contact**

Q15. Can you describe your network/contacts?

15.1 Are you in contact with other members of ENAR?

15.1.1 Do you have contact to members in other countries?

15.2 Are you related to other organizations within the field of migration and discrimination?

### **Interview with ENAR**

Q1. Can you describe the structural change of ENAR?

Q2. How is the national platform composed?

2.1 Who is in this group of this national platform

Q3. What are the criteria to become part of the board?

Q4. What are the criteria's for becoming a member?

4.1 Do you have to pay a membership fee?

Q5. How much are the members involved in the policy work of ENAR?

Q6. Is the work at the European level a priority for the members?

### **Appendix D – List of Interviewees**

Egenberger, Vera (BUG, manager) Interview. 15 April 2013. Berlin

Diakit , Madabuko Arthur Robinson (EIA of Lund, Chairman) Interview. 10 April 2013. Lund

Hansen, Niels-Erik (DRC, Executive Director) Interview. 11 April 2013. Copenhagen

Momodou, Jallow (Pan-African Movement, Spokesperson) Interview. 17 April 2013. Malm 

Svenninger, Konrad (Soteria International, Director of communication) Interview. 11 April 2013. Copenhagen

Shearer, Jamie (ISD, Advisory Board) Interview. 16 April 2013. Berlin

Upko, John Udo (SOS against racism, Treasure) Interview. 22 April 2013. Copenhagen

Wahlgren, Juliana (ENAR, Networking-and Communication Officer) Interview. 28 January 2013. Brussels

Wiegrats, Simone (Aric, Manager) Interview, 15 April 2013. Berlin